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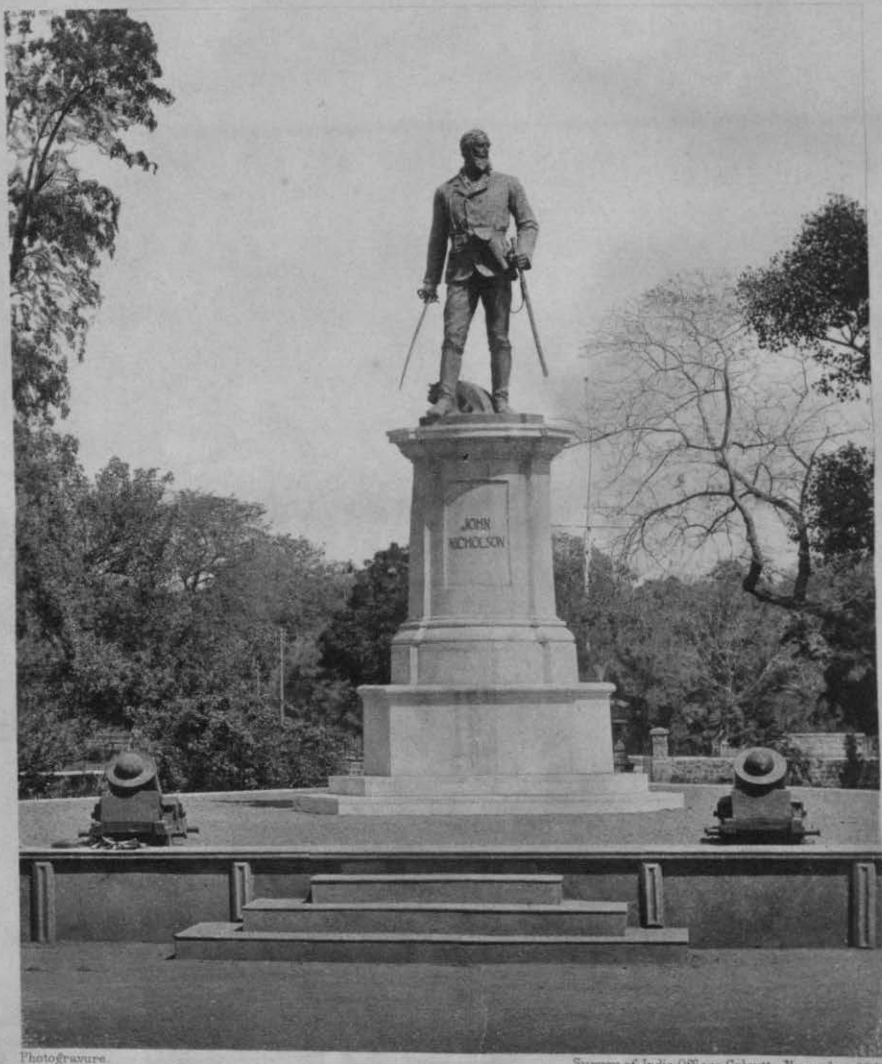
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Photogravure.

Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, November 1907.

STATUE OF
BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN NICHOLSON.
AT DELHI.

MUTINY RECORDS

CORRESPONDENCE

IN TWO PARTS.

PART II.

Lahore:

PRINTED AT THE PUNJAB GOVERNMENT PRESS,

1911.

Price Rs. 5-8-0 or 8s. 3d.

PRINTED BY LALA SITA RAM,
SUPERINTENDENT, PUNJAB GOVERNMENT PRESS, LAHORE.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The present volume is one of a series of selections from the Punjab Government records which have been published by the Punjab Government. The volumes constituting the series are—

The Delhi Residency and Agency Records	...	1807-1857, Volume I.
The Ludhiana Agency Records,		1808-1815, Volume II.
The Political Diaries of the Resident at Lahore and his Assistants	...	1846-1849, Volumes III—VI.
The *Mutiny Records—Correspondence and Reports*	...	1857-1858, Volumes VII and VIII each in two Parts.

It had been intended to issue further volumes also, dealing with (*a*) the records of the Karnal, Ambala and Ludhiana Agencies (including the despatches of Sir D. Ochterlony, Superintendent of Political Affairs and Agent to the Governor-General at Ludhiana, and the diaries of his Assistant, Captain G. Birch), 1816—1840; (*b*) the records of the North-West Frontier Agency, 1840—1845, and (*c*) those of the Lahore Residency, 1846—1849; but it has been found necessary on financial grounds to postpone the publication of these further papers.

The material for the volumes issued has been prepared and put through the Press by Mr. A. Raynor, late Registrar of the Punjab Civil Secretariat.

Lahore:

December 1915.

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168. *From G. C. Barnes, Esquire, Commissioner and Superintendent, Cis-Sutlej States, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 275, dated 1st September 1857.*

Submits précis of Delhee news of 29th August.

Enclosure to 168.

Translation of Delhee news, 29th August 1857.

Gowree Shunkur, 29th August.—Yesterday Mirza Moghul Beg paid a visit to the City Kotwal with the view of raising money for the army. He explained the straits to which they were reduced, and directed that the bunneeahs of the town should be required to furnish supplies for which they would be remunerated on the first issue of pay. The Kotwal executed the orders, but nothing permanent has been arranged. The King sent a message to Bukht Khan, through Moghul Beg, to proceed with his brigade to relieve the remainder of the

Delhi news, 29th August 1857.

Delhi news, 29th August 1857.

Neemuch Forces (surrounded near Nujufgurh). Bukht Khan flatly refused, saying he was his own master. The army is disorganized and anxious. There is a dire scarcity of money. The remnants of the Neemuch Brigade are at Mundohee. One battalion of Infantry, some Cavalry, two ammunition waggons and four guns, which had been sent out towards Nujufgurh, returned yesterday. Some sepoys of the Neemuch Brigade still come tottering into Delhee. The Brigade is completely broken up. Out of three regiments of Infantry, not above 500 or 600 men are left. The rest are nowhere. They have either fallen, or gone off in all directions. Last night the City Brigade and the Rohilkhund Brigade supplied men to work the batteries. They returned in the morning. Ever since the enemy were surprised by Brigadier Showers, they are most vigilant at night. On the battlements of the city and at the batteries a strict watch is kept, and the pickets are also on the alert. A bugler is stationed at each of these posts to give the alarm. The reports of the approach of the Gwalior Contingent are rifer than ever. Mohumud Bukhsh, Tehseeldar of the city, and formerly Serishtadar of Goorgaon, is urged to make strenuous exertions to raise funds. A good deal of money has been collected from contractors and people of that class. In old Delhee also the spur is applied. Six villages of that vicinity have paid up their revenue. But old Delhee itself (or Mehrolee) has not yet paid. The collections are on foot across the river at Ghazeeooddeenuggur, though little money has been collected. Some money has been realized in the pergunnah of Ferozpoor (Zilla Goorgaon). The powder manufactory goes on as usual, and turns out about 50 maunds a day, which is about the rate of daily consumption. On the last day of the Mohurrum astrologers predict some severe fighting. The Moosulmans expect martyrdom if they fall on that day. Great search is being made in the fort of Selemgurh, and extensive excavations have been dug. The old servants of the King declare that cannon of the time of the former Emperors is buried here, and they also point out places where treasure is said to be deposited, but nothing has come to light as yet. Some of the sepoys aver that the relics of the Nee-

much Brigade at Mundohee have still possession of two guns, but the report is doubtful. Delhi news, 29th August 1857.

Rujjub Allee.—Toorab Allee, news-writer, is now in camp. His budget of news is therefore wanting. He will return in a day or two. Yesterday Captain Hodson went to Nujufgurh. He found no traces of the rebels. But he brought in three ammunition carts from the field of battle. Toorab Allee represents the army and the people of the city as terribly frightened. Twenty-two carts loaded with women, wives of the citizens, left Delhee yesterday by the Delhee Gate for Bullubgurh and Rewaree. They leave daily in equal numbers.

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169. *From A. BRANDRETH, Esquire, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 46, dated Lahore, 2nd September 1857.*

I AM directed to annex, for the information of the Supreme Government, copy of a memo. showing the different letters which have been despatched from this office on matters connected with the present state of affairs since the 29th of June. Duplicates of all these despatches have been regularly forwarded also.

2. Since the 28th ultimo, the date of my last report, two émeutes have occurred among the Native Troops of the line in the Punjab. Two émeutes among Native Troops in the Punjab.

3. On the 28th ultimo the 51st Native Infantry, which had been some time ago disarmed, being ordered into camp as a precautionary measure consequent on the great sickness at Peshawur among the European Troops, broke out and attempted to seize the arms of the 18th Punjab Regiment then at dinner. The latter, however, were on their guard and made a formidable resistance. Some 50 of the 51st Native Infantry were killed and the rest dispersed. They were pursued and nearly all killed or taken prisoners. The latter were tried as they came in, found guilty, and executed. Nearly 800 of this regiment have thus been destroyed. Captain Bartlett, the Attack by the disarmed 51st Native Infantry at Peshâwar on the 18th Punjab Regiment. The 51st are dispersed and nearly all killed or taken prisoners.

Narrow escape of Captain Bartlett, Commanding the Sikh Regiment.

Commanding Officer of the Seikh Regiment, had a narrow escape. He was severely beaten, and had to take refuge in a pond. The lines of the disarmed corps have been knocked down and a general clearance effected, which in the event of an outbreak will prove beneficial. In the huts of the sepoys some arms have been found concealed and a good deal of ammunition.

Mutiny of the remainder of the 5th and 60th Regiments of Native Infantry at Ambála.

4. On the 28th also the remainder of the 5th and 60th Regiments of Native Infantry mutinied at Amballa and attempted to escape. The men of these regiments since they were disarmed have gradually been deserting, and latterly the desertions have amounted to from 10 to 20 each night. At the suggestion of the Brigadier Commanding at Amballa, the Chief Commissioner, with the concurrence of General Gowan, Commanding in the Punjab, proposed that the remaining men should be placed in arrest and confined in the jail. On their way there, they dispersed and attempted to escape. Out of 200, however, 130 were killed in the pursuit.

Execution of 11 troopers of the 10th Cavalry at Ferozepore.

5. Only 11 troopers of the 10th Cavalry, who broke out at Ferozepoor, were seized. These were tried, found guilty of mutiny and executed. These men were arrested by the Police of the Loodhiana District. The rest have escaped, and appear to have joined the insurgent Runghurs in the Hansie District. Thirteen more of the mutineers of the 26th and 46th Regiments of Native Infantry have been also seized by the Raja of Chumba and summarily executed.

Defeat of Bikáner Troops at Tosham by insurgent Ranghars.

6. In the Hansie District the insurgent Runghurs, aided by the mutineers of Irregular Corps of Cavalry and the Hurrianah Light Infantry of that district, attacked a considerable body of the Bikaneer Troops, who with the aid of the friendly Hindoo inhabitants of the town of Tosham were holding that place, killed between 50 and 60 of them, and put the rest to flight. The Bikaneer Troops kept a bad look out and appear to have been surprised. Both the Tehseeldar and Kotewal of Tosham, who had remained staunch during the insurrection, were killed with a number of their Police.

7. Among the annexures is a copy of Brigadier-General Nicholson's report* of the action at Nujufgurh. It appears that while he was engaged with the Neemuch and Kotah mutineers at this place, the Rohilkhund Brigade were only five miles off at Palum under Bukhtawur Khan, the rebel General. With better information General Nicholson would have marched next morning against him; but the intelligence was defective, and the Rohilkhund Force retreated precipitately into Delhy. From the accounts of the spies from the city this defeat has caused great sensation, and desertions are becoming more frequent. No more than 600 of the Neemuch and Kotah Force appear to have returned. They lost all their guns, ammunition, equipage and many of the men who escaped their arms.

Defeat of the rebels at Najafgarh by Brigadier-General Nicholson.

*NOTE.—Will be found printed at page 360 of the Selections from State papers preserved in the Military Department, 1857-58, Volume I, Delhi.

8. The firmness and decision displayed by General Nicholson in making the march to Nujufgurh and bringing the insurgents to action at once merit high praise. The Chief Commissioner is well acquainted with the ground over which the troops had to move. At this season of the year it is more or less flooded.

Praise of General Nicholson's firmness and decision.

9. The siege train was at Lursowlie yesterday, and will probably be in camp on the 4th. Preparations appear to be going on for assuming the offensive on the arrival of the heavy guns and mortars. The Chief Commissioner has urged on General Wilson the expediency of attacking the town, if the means at his disposal will justify such an attempt. Many of the best officers in camp are sanguine of success.

Siege train approaching Delhi.

General Wilson urged to attack the town.

10. The news from Agra is satisfactory. A force had gone out on the 25th ultimo and defeated some 3,000 insurgents and killed 300.

News from Agra.

11. The cholera has lately broken out in the small detachment of Her Majesty's 24th forming a part of the Moveable Column at Umritsur. Out of 200 men 23 have died. At the suggestion of the Chief Commissioner the detachment will move to Jalundhur.

Health of Her Majesty's 24th at Amritsar.

Movements of Jammu Troops. Contribution of Maharaja to loan.

12. The Jummoo Troops are to-day at Amballa, and march towards Delhy to-night. The accounts of their conduct have been favorable. They have also suffered from cholera. The Maharaja has sent in a loan of six lakhs of rupees.

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170. *From G. C. BARNES, Esquire, Commissioner and Superintendent, Cis-Sutlej States, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 279, dated 3rd September 1857.*

SUBMITS translation of précis of Delhee news of 1st September.

ENCLOSURE TO 170.

Translation of Delhee news, 1st September 1857.

Delhi news, 1st September 1857.

Futteh Mohumud, 1st September.—A letter has been received by Moostafa Khan, Ressaldar of the 8th Cavalry, from Raeepoor in the Futtehgurh District. The writer was allowed to read it. The letter stated that the Nawab of Furruckabad had established himself in power, and is raising levies of foot and horse, and collecting revenue. The Nawab sent down a reinforcement of 2,000 new levies and a battalion of mutineers to assist the Nana Saheb at Cawnpoor. They are engaged in fighting with the English. Travellers from Bareilly represent that Nawab Khan Bahadoor Khan has established himself in Rohilkhund, and is also raising levies. The state of affairs at Delhee is as follows: The Nusseerabad and Neemuch Brigades are supporters of Mirza Moghul, and the Bareilly Brigade is devoted to the King. The officers of the Bareilly Force and the Mirza are bitter enemies. It is not at all improbable that the Bareilly Troops will fall out and kill Mirza Moghul. Every brigade is clamourous for pay; indeed they are actually in want of food. There is not a stiver in the treasury. The Cavalry constantly desert to their homes. The writer would not be surprised if the sepoys were to plunder the city and to quarrel among themselves. The Shahzadas manage to embezzle the collections made from the townspeople. The Bareilly Brigade talk of returning to Bareilly. Mooftee Sudderooddeen was sent for to the palace in order to get money out of

him, but he would not go. He summoned a lot of fanatics to his house, and engaged to give them 24 Rs. a day for rations. He not only refused to pay, but threatened the Palace folks with raising a war and of dying in arms against them. It is more commendable, he said, to attack and fight such people than to wage a religious war against the English. The Bareilly officers, after holding a separate meeting, went to the King. Some of the Cavalry said they had gone to ask for the dismissal of Mirza Moghul, or for leave to go to Bareilly, and if both these requests were refused, they would commit some violence. **Delhi news, 1st September 1857.**

Gowree Shunkur, 1st September.—There is a scarcity of sulphur for the powder manufacture, and there is none to be procured in the city. Toolla Ram has been requested to send in a supply from Rewaree. Koodrutoolla Beg has been told to pay four lacs of rupees to the King. He has given no reply. Yakoob Ali Khan of Bareilly, according to the talk of the Palace, has brought 200 gold mohurs, a gold cup, and an elephant as present for the King, but he has not yet presented them. Goodness knows for what special occasion he reserves these gifts. Yesterday the King cried down the credit of the Shahzadas by proclamation, and directed that no one should give money to them; the requisitions of the "Kote," however, were to be immediately obeyed. The Raja of Bullubgurh has secretly sent in 10,000 rupees to the King by the hands of Nizamooddeen, son of Kale Saheb (the King's moorshid). The money has been appropriated by Zeenut Muhul, Begum. The Delhee Tehseeldar has collected 1,000 rupees from the farmers (of land revenue) living in the city, and collections are going on in the Palum Pergunnah. A considerable sum of money has been realized. Each Cavalry Regiment is now split up into small "thokes" or federacies, comprising those who are residents of a particular tract of country. For instance, the Hansee fellows form one "thoke," the Kalanoor men another "thoke," and so on through the whole body. Not one agrees with the other. News have been received that their houses and property have been confisca-

Delhi news, 1st September 1857.

ted, and enquiries made concerning them by British officers, and they are in consequence much frightened. Even the lumberdars of the villages have been brought to account about them, and the sowars are terribly put out, and are all on the eve of deserting. They wait however for the promised issue of pay.

Toorab Alli, 1st September.—Yesterday the writer made minute enquiries about the guns, and ascertained that there are only 15 field guns left, 6 of which belong to the Bareilly Brigade, five to the Nusseerabad mutineers, and four belong to the King. The day before yesterday 27 barrels of gunpowder newly manufactured were carried off to the palace, and about 60 maunds in an incomplete state are lying in the manufactory. No more sulphur is to be had at any price. On account of the badness of the powder recently made, some firework makers of Coel were sent for to Delhee, but they have not come. The members of the "Kote," or Military Council, are as follows :—

Ghous Mohumud Khan ...	General, Neemuch.
Heera Singh... ...	Brigadier, Neemuch.
Bukht Khan ...	General, Bareilly.
Mohumud Shuffee ...	Ressaldar, 8th Irregulars.
Hyat Mohumud ...	Ressaldar, 14th Irregulars.
Qadir Bukhsh ...	Soobedar, Sappers and Miners.
Nuthoo	Soobedar, 72nd Regiment Native Infantry.
Hurdutt	Soobedar, 9th Regiment Native Infantry.
Names unknown ...	Soobedar, Hurriana Battalion. Soobedar, 11th Native Infantry. Soobedar, 54th Native Infantry.

The "Kote" also comprises five sepoys from every regiment in Delhee, and Moulvee Fuzl Huq is also a member. The supporters and advisers of General Bukht Khan are Moulvee Surfuraz

Ali of Bareilly, Moulvee Imdad Ali of Pulwul, and Mohumud Shuffee, Ressaldar. The two Moulvees are always present by the side of the King in Durbar. Yesterday ten men came in from Tonk. They say that the Nawab consulted the books and ascertained that the crusade against the English was not proper. He then addressed his army and told them he was the ally of the British Government, and that he would not betray his salt. They, if they liked, might be faithless, but he would not. After this speech, 200 men left his service. One of the wives of Mirza Illahee Bukhsh had gone to Mecca. She is now detained at Dholpoor. A man came in yesterday with the news that the Mhow mutineers, with Artillery and ammunition, are encamped on the other side of the Chumbul. They are detained partly by the want of carriage and partly also by the management of the Gwalior Chief. There is a loss of 800 men in the Neemuch Brigade. They are probably concealed in some of the villages. About 40 sowars of the 3rd Light Cavalry are gone out to look for them. Two of these sowars have returned without any tidings. Yesterday evening a proclamation was issued prohibiting people from paying any money to the Shahzadas and directing them to pay only to the "Kote."

Delhi news, 1st September 1857.

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171. *From A. Brandreth, Esquire, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. Edmonstone, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 47, dated Lahore, 3rd September 1857.*

I am directed to submit, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, copy of a telegraphic message from General Wilson, Commanding the Army before Dehli, and of the Chief Commissioner's reply.

Overtures made by the enemy at Delhi.

2. I am to add that the defection of a large body of troops from the insurgent cause would doubtless prove of great value by leading the enemy to distrust each other generally.

Note.—For reply see 221 (page 216).

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 171.

Telegram from Major-General WILSON, Camp before Dehlie, to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—received Lahore, 2nd September 1857.

Overtures made by the enemy at Delhi.

Do you consider the Governor-General's notification* of 9th July imperative on me under circumstances. Great gain may be attained by detaching Irregular Cavalry from the mutineers: important overtures have been made.

*Enclosure to 112 (Part I, page 194).

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 171.

Telegram from Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to Major-General WILSON,—dated Lahore, 2nd September 1857.

I DO not think that under the Government notification you could pardon mutineers. But you could recommend for pardon, which would almost certainly be attended to, provided the parties were not murderers.

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172. *From A. BRANDRETH, Esquire, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 48, dated Lahore, 4th September 1857.*

Proclamations found at Siálkot.

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner to enclose for the information of the Supreme Government the papers marginally noted.† The original proclamations were found a few days ago‡ affixed to the gate of a garden between the Sealkote Cantonment and the town. The papers are probably the work of some Hindostani who has lost service in consequence of the late outbreaks, and every effort has been and will be made quietly to discover the author.

† 1. A proclamation to the Hindoos and Mussulmans of the Punjab purporting to be by Maharaja Sher Singh.
2. A warning to the English.

‡30th ultimo.

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 172.

The order of the Commander-in-Chief, Maharaja Sher Singh, Ruler of Hind and the Punjab.

THIS order is published this first day of Jeyt, Sumbut 1914. Proclamation found at Siálkot.

Be it known to all the Hindoos and Mussulmans of the Punjab that the English are blackguards. They give no information about the war. Now be it known that 1st Sud Gooroo says that we have been afflicted for 10 years, nor was there any hope of release. But Sud Gooroo was not deficient in power. God permitted the wisdom of these budmashes to disappear. (The figure used is filthy.) They plotted against our religion and wished to disgrace us and make us like themselves. Fate, however, triumphed over their policy. When the Priest came to Dehli he ordered the troops to bite the cartridge. The troops remained quiet during the night, but at cock crow next morning Joorabhun Singh, Soobadar Bahadoor, got his troops ready and killed the budmashes wherever he found them and placed the Badshah on the throne and wrote firmans to the whole Hindostanee Army. A massacre took place in every cantonment and the Padre's mouth was stuffed with sugar.

Joorabhun Singh is going through and about Calcutta, and wherever there are tehseels and thannahs he is establishing his own thannahs. The Raja of Burmah is in Calcutta itself with an army of 140,000 men. Not a blackguard is allowed to enter.

Huzrut Mirza Baee is in Dehli and has with him several thousands of troops.

Be assured. God will not spare them. Neither will they leave this country alive. As they have caused dogs to be killed so will they be killed. They have fled from Dehli and are within 40 cos of Lahore. If God will help us, we will make over their women to the sweepers. Any Hindoo or Mahomedan who will kill a Feringee will be provided for.

True translation,
A. A. ROBERTS,
Commissioner.

The 31st August 1857.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 172.

Proclamation found at Siálkot.

THIS order is addressed to the English blackguards.

Beware that when we advance towards Lahore you will find it difficult to escape. The Punjabee Troops will join us. Rest assured the Punjab shall never be yours. We know that your bones will be reduced to powder in this country.

If you wish well to yourselves, fly immediately to your country. You may then perhaps escape, but you are powerless. God has misled you. You can do no good.

True translation,
A. A. ROBERTS,
Commissioner.

The 31st August 1857.

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173. *From A. BRANDRETH, Esquire, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 49, dated Lahore, 4th September 1857.*

Overtures made by the mutineers in Delhi to General Wilson.

IN continuation of my letter No. 47* of yesterday's date, connected with certain overtures made by the mutineers in Dehlee to General Wilson, I am directed to submit, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, a copy of the Chief Commissioner's demi-official letter of to-day's date, and to express the Chief Commissioner's hope that the course which he has adopted may meet with the approval of the Supreme Government.

*171 (page 9).

NOTE.—For reply see 221 (page 216).

ENCLOSURE TO 173.

From SIR JOHN LAWRENCE, Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to General A. WILSON, Delhi,—demi-official dated Lahore, 4th September 1857.

Advice offered by Sir John Lawrence to General Wilson in connection with the overtures of the mutineers.

WITH reference to my telegraphic message† of the 2nd instant, I enclose copy of an order‡ by Government of the 31st of July last. Though it does not give the specific powers which you require, its spirit is decidedly in accordance with the policy which you advocate,

†Enclosure (2) to 171 (page 10).
‡Enclosure to 140 (Part I, page 291).

and which the difficulties of our position dictate. I think you may safely act accordingly. As you are aware, I have no authority whatever at Delhi or in Delhi matters. But I consider every officer ought to aid the State to the best of his ability, and to assume responsibility where that course is advisable. If therefore you deem it expedient to receive the overtures of corps, or portions of corps, which have not murdered Europeans, and find it necessary to give distinct pledges for pardon, I am quite prepared to share the responsibility.

2. The Hindostani Irregular Cavalry have taken a less active part in the mutiny than any other branch of the Native Army. We have still a number of corps which have not broken out, and some, such as the 1st Irregulars, which have done good service. We are greatly in want also of Cavalry; so that there are many good reasons for extending our clemency to those willing to receive it, who have not murdered our countrymen. The combination has been so extensive, the mutiny so general, that it is impossible for us to carry on a war of vengeance against all. We cannot destroy all the mutineers who have fought against us. The sooner we open the door for escape to the least guilty, the better for all parties.

P. S.—I see you complain of the transport arrangements at Kurnaul. But this place is not under me; if LéBas, the Civil officer, be made to give sufficient aid to Captain Briggs in the way of carts and cattle, this will be remedied. The transport train does not extend beyond Kurnaul.

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174. *From A. BRANDRETH, Esquire, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 50, dated Lahore, 7th September 1857.*

Statement of the effective force before Delhi on 2nd September 1857.

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner to submit, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, a statement* of the effective force before Delhy on the 2nd September. It amounts to only 8,791 men of all

* Not traceable in the Punjab records.

arms. To these, however, must be added about 300 Puthan horse which have not been shown in the return. The following troops also have since arrived at Delhy or will arrive before the assault :—

European Infantry	400
4th Puthan Rifles	750
Wing of Belooch Infantry ...	350
Jummoo Troops	2,500
Jheend and Putialah Contingent ...	1,100
Total ...	5,100

2. This would swell the whole force to upwards of 14,000 men. Out of this number full 10,000* good Infantry will be available, of which 3,241 are Europeans and 3,666 Ghorkas or Punjabees of our own army. It may be presumed that some portion of the sick will be able to turn out and assist in camp on the day of the assault. With the aid then of the Cavalry and Artillery it may be assumed that 1,000 effective Infantry will probably suffice for its protection. This would admit of 9,000 men being employed in the actual assault, which it was anticipated would take place three days after the heavy guns opened.

*European Infantry—	
Present ...	2,841
Detachments ...	400
Total European Infantry ...	3,241
Native Infantry —	
Present	2,566
4th P. Rifles and Wing of Beloochees	1,100
Total ...	3,666
Grand Total of British Infantry ...	6,907
Contingents—	
Jummoo Infantry ...	2,000
Jheend and Putialah	1,100
Total ...	10,007

State of affairs in Delhi City.

3. By the latest trustworthy accounts which come down to the 1st September, copy of which is annexed,† it will be seen that the mutineers are without leaders, are split up into small factions, have no united plan of operations, and are deficient in munitions of war and in money. Humanly speaking

†170, page 6.

NOTE.—The Dehlie news of the 2nd September just received is also annexed.

it may be fully anticipated that they will not be able to withstand our assault, and that the first regiment which enters the town will be the signal for a general rout.

4. The Chief Commissioner desires me to draw the particular attention of His Lordship in Council to the sadly weak state of the European Infantry Regiments. The seven corps do not muster 3,300 effective men, less than 500 men a regiment. Before the end of the year even these numbers must be wofully diminished. Not only is a large augmentation of European Regiments required in India, but drafts for those now in the country are equally necessary. It may safely be assumed that not a single European Regiment will muster one-half its nominal strength on the opening of the new year.

Paucity of European Troops before Delhi.

ENCLOSURE TO 174.

Translation of Dehli news, 2nd September 1857.

Gowree Shunker, 2nd September.—Yesterday there was a great tumult in the Palace about the distribution of pay. Two companies actually surrounded the apartments of the King. The King immediately came forward. The Soobadars clamoured for pay. The King replied, "I never called you together, nor do I want you, nor have I any money to pay you." There was much talking and shouting. At last Salim Shah, Ressaldar (on leave), expostulated with the Soobadars and got them quiet. The King said that he had 40,000 rupees which they were welcome to take. The Soobadars replied that they could not pay the troops with 40,000 rupees. The King then said there were 101 gold mohurs recently presented to him by the Nawab of Bareilly, and they might have them. The Soobadars were still dissatisfied. The King then offered all the jewels of the zenana and rising from his chair he threw before them the embroidered cushion on which he had been sitting and bid them take that. The courtiers around were much affected, and the Soobadars were removed from the presence. The truth is there has been a serious disturbance about the pay. God alone can protect the city and Palace.

Delhi news, 2nd September 1857.

Delhi news, 2nd September 1857.

Last night the first watch at the batteries was taken by the City Brigade. At midnight they were relieved by the Neemuch Brigade. The City Brigade refused to give over charge of the batteries to "runaways," as they called the Neemuch Troops. For some hours the quarrel continued and almost rose to blows. At last the Bareilly Brigade, hearing of the *fracas*, went out and appeased them, taking the duties of the batteries themselves. The Chief of Bullubgurh wrote to the King that he had celebrated the Mohurrum with great pomp and had consented to embrace the religion of Mahomet. He was ready to eat the crumbs from the King's table. From a confidential source the writer has ascertained that the Maharaja of Gwalior has taken into his service three batteries of Infantry and one regiment of Cavalry lately belonging to the Gwalior Contingent. They have not been able to make a bridge over the Chumbul owing to the heavy floods.

Futteh Mahomed, 2nd September.—Yesterday all the officers of the rebel army repaired to the Palace to enquire about the promised issue of pay. There was every prospect of a serious outbreak. The King, being sorely pressed, gave up 40,000 rupees and promised to pay the balance after 15 days. This instalment will give to the army the following rates of pay:—

	Rs.
To a Ressaldar	12
Naib Ressaldar	8
Jemadar	6
Duffadar	5
Trooper	3
Sepoy	2
Camp-follower	1

The writer saw a schedule with this scale of distribution at Mahomed Shuffee's (Ressaldar) quarters. The following arrangements have been made to provide funds for the issue of pay. One lac of rupees is to be raised from the city people,

Mooftee Suddur-ood-deen being security on behalf of the Mussulmans and Lalla Mokund Lall on behalf of the Hindoos. These two have agreed to pay this sum in 15 days, but hope that the city will fall to the English before that date. Yesterday Meer Gholam Ali was appointed Tehseeldar of Bhagput and started for his post with two companies Infantry and two troops Irregular Cavalry under Mirza Ameer Beg, Ressaldar. Mirza Moghul has again been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the army. The King reserves the affairs of the country and the revenue, which he will administer himself. Sulphur is not to be procured, and consequently the manufacture of gunpowder is entirely suspended. Yesterday evening the officers of the Neemuch, Bareilly and Nusseerabad Brigades met at General Bukht Khan's quarters. Their swords were placed in the middle and each and all swore solemnly to stand together for life or death. Some Artillery has been provided for the Neemuch Brigade. Some damage was done to the Shah Bastion by the fire of a battery placed under the ridge. Ghous Mahomed, General of the Neemuch Brigade, has been appointed to command a party to take this battery, and an attack may be speedily expected. Yesterday evening the brother of Ameer Khan, a sepoy in the 60th Native Infantry, came from Hydurgurh, a village near Lucknow. He gave the news that the English Troops were at Busheergunje and had made entrenchments. Daily conflicts were going on. Burkat Ahmed, Ressaldar of the Irregulars, who had been appointed Generalissimo of the rebel forces, had been killed by a round shot. His death had spread a gloom over the rebels. After a muster of the Neemuch Troops 600 men of all arms were found missing. This brigade is *much* disheartened.

Delhi news, 2nd September 1857.

Toorab Alli, 2nd September.—The writer repaired to the Palace hearing that the officers had all gone there to demand an issue of pay. A crowd of about 500 men of all ranks was collected round the Dewan Khas. Mirza Moghul, Aboobukr and Khizar Sooltan, Shahzadas, were surrounded by the crowd. The soldiers shouted out that Ehsanoolla Hukeem alone prevented their receiving their pay. They clamoured for his death and for the imprisonment of the Shahzadas and avowed their inten-

Delhi news, 2nd September 1857.

tion of dividing the city into allotments and extorting their pay by force. They were most fierce and insolent in their demand. Mirza Moghul in fear of his life sent for Mirza Elahee Bukhsh, who succeeded in appeasing them and took them before the King. The King declared he had no pay to give them. The troops rejoined that in that case they would plunder both the palace and the city and massacre all the court. Upon this the King rose and threw down the hassock on which he usually sits in Durbar, and gave orders that all the property of the court, the horses, elephants, caparisons and even the ornaments of his Begums should be immediately made over to them, and then turning his face towards Mecca he burst into tears, exclaiming that he was well punished for his sins. Had he been included in the massacre of the English, he might have been spared this humiliation. Hearing these passionate cries, the whole court and the Begums were moved to tears and even the soldiers were ashamed of their violence, excusing themselves on account of the extreme distress and hunger to which they were reduced. Mirza Moghul brought out 40,000 rupees and begged them to take this sum as an instalment. The influential men of the city hearing of this scene repaired to the palace and agreed among themselves to raise 1,50,000 rupees, and should more be required the Begums were to furnish the excess. Until the English arrive, the King and the citizens have no escape from the clutches of these tyrants. There was a great consultation, which lasted till midnight at the house of Mooftee Sudder-ood-deen, and a deputation has gone this morning to wait on the King. On the 31st August Moonshee Aga Jan and Waris Alli agreed to pay Rs. 1,000 each. They yielded only when the soldiers heating their ramrods threatened to burn holes in their bodies. Moonshee Aga Jan stood out bravely calling upon them to kill him, but his relations could not bear the sight of seeing him tortured. Yesterday some man was appointed by General Bukht Khan Tehseeldar of Bhagput, and went out with two companies and two troops of Irregular Cavalry. Yesterday also two maunds of gun caps were placed in the magazine by Motee Ram, sepoy, who had bought them from the magazine khalasees and sonars of the

city. The ambassadors from Lucknow and Bareilly are much surprised and terrified at the state of affairs in Dehli. They now know the prospects of the King's cause, and perhaps will not be so anxious to obtain grants from the King.

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175. *From A. Brandreth, Esquire, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. Edmonstone, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 51, dated Lahore, 9th September 1857.*

Statements showing the number and character of the Police, troops and levies raised in the Punjab.

I am directed to submit, for the information of the Supreme Government, the annexed statements* showing the number and character of the Police, troops and levies which have been raised in the Punjab since the present insurrection broke out. The numbers† may appear at first sight large, but when it is considered that we have supplied the place and even had to guard against 42 regiments of Native Cavalry, Infantry and Artillery, besides sending 5 out of the 11 regiments of Punjab Infantry and some of the Punjab Cavalry to Delhy, as well as a large portion of our European Troops, it will, the Chief Commissioner ventures to think, be a matter of congratulation that we have been able to maintain public tranquillity. At this moment there cannot be less than 20,000 Hindostani Troops, which we have to watch and guard against by day and by night.

*Not printed.

†Common Police	...	4,722
Military—		
Infantry	...	8,461
Cavalry	...	7,242
Levies	...	7,821
Total	...	28,246

2. The increase to the ordinary Police amounts to 4,722 men. This force is altogether temporary. All the local, rural and city Police have been largely strengthened. Additional establishments have been allowed for the jails, for the roads, and especially for the ferries, so as to enable us to intercept and arrest fugitive native soldiers.

3. The Statement No. 2 shows the increase to the Punjab Troops. The Chief Commissioner has partially raised 15 regiments of Punjab Infantry. Out of these, one has been

Number of Police, troops and levies raised in the Punjab.

sent to Merutt, and a second to Hansi; nine, and the Military Police with a small European Force, hold the interior of the Punjab down to Kurnaul and the banks of the Jumna. All the remaining six old Punjab Regiments, with four new ones, are stationed on the frontier. These six regiments are very weak from the number of Native officers and men which they have had to furnish for the new regiments, it not being deemed expedient to take away any drafts from the corps before Delhy.

1st Sikhs,	Dera Ghazee Khan.	
2nd ,,	Huzara.	
3rd ,,	Bunnoo.	
3rd Punjab Infantry,		Kohat.
4th ,, ,,		Peshawur.
6th ,, ,,		Kohat.

4. Statement No. 3 shows no less than 7,242 horsemen. Many, however, are merely temporary levies, unfit and unwilling to serve at any distance from their own homes. A large number are employed on the frontier and serve as a counterpoise to the Hindostani Cavalry. A good many are employed in Hurriana in recovering those districts from the insurgents; some have been sent to Delhy and Merutt; and others assist in holding the communications downwards from Amballah. The Police Horse which have been raised at Lahore are a very serviceable body, little inferior to the Regular Mounted Police. And the regiment under Captain Wild will, it is anticipated, be completed to 500 sabres and ready to march towards the north-west by the 1st of October. To complete its ranks, volunteers from the Police Horse have been called for.

5. Statement 1 gives a detail of the Foot Levies, amounting to 7,821. A large number of these are on the frontier, in Peshawur, Huzara, Kohat and the Derajat. They hold small forts and posts and help to maintain the balance of power against the Native Army. Those, however, at Googeira, Jhelum, Sealkote, Goojranwala and Gordaspoor, upwards of 2,000 men, have been carefully selected, and are being regularly drilled, and will furnish drafts or form the nucleus for new regiments or Police Battalions. Raja Jowahir Singh's Levy are a picked body of hill men, who would make a capital regiment of Light Infantry. The Muzbee Pioneers are men of that caste whom we have improvised for the occasion out of the beldars on the Baree Doab Canal, and sent down to Delhy to supply the place

of our Sappers and Miners, nearly all of whom joined in the general mutiny. These men have an intense longing for military employment, and should they behave well, will deserve the consideration of Government. The Native Artillerymen are old Seikh soldiers of that class, who have likewise been collected and sent down to serve at Delhy. Some few have also gone to Hurriana.

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176. *From H. L. ANDERSON, Esquire, Secretary to Government, Bombay, to the Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 1559, dated 30th August 1857 (received 11th September 1857).*

I AM directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council to enclose copy of a telegraphic message received *viâ* Madras from the Government of India, and to request that you will forward copies of the same by the most expeditious means to the Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces, and to Mr. Greathed, Commissioner at Delhi. **Orders regarding the acceptance or otherwise of overtures from the King of Delhi.**

ENCLOSURE TO 176.

Telegram from G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Calcutta, to H. L. ANDERSON, Esquire, Bombay,—dated 20th August (Madras, 29th August 1857).

SEND on the following order by express to Lieutenant-Governor at Agra and forward a copy to Mr. Greathed, the Commissioner at Delhi. *Order begins.* Rumours have more than once reached this Government that overtures have been made by the King of Delhi to the Officer Commanding the Troops there, and that these overtures may possibly be renewed upon the basis of the restoration of the King to the position which he held before the mutiny at Meerut and Delhi. The Governor-General wishes it to be understood that any concession to the King of which the King's restoration to his former position should be the basis is one to which the Government (as at present advised) cannot for a moment give its consent. Should any negotiation of the sort be contemplated, a full report of all the circumstances must be submitted to the Governor-General in Council before the Government is committe to anything. *Order ends.*

177. *From A. BRANDRETH, Esquire, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to C. B. THORNHILL, Esquire, Secretary to the Government, North-Western Provinces, Agra,—dated Lahore, 11th September 1857.*

Orders regarding the acceptance or otherwise of overtures from the King of Delhi.

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner to forward to you for submission to His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor the annexed copy of a letter No. 1559* of the 30th ultimo this day received from the Government of Bombay, and of the telegraphic message therein referred to, conveying the orders of the Supreme Government against any overtures being accepted from the King of Delhi which shall have his restoration to his former position as their basis.

*176 (page 21).

2. A copy has also been forwarded to Mr. Greathed.

178. *From A. BRANDRETH, Esquire, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to H. H. GREATHED, Esquire, Commissioner and Agent, Delhi,—letter dated Lahore, 11th September 1857.*

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner to forward to you the annexed copy of a letter No. 1559† of the 30th ultimo this day received from the Government of Bombay, and of the telegraphic message therein referred to, conveying the orders of the Supreme Government against any overtures being accepted from the King of Delhi without previous report to the Governor-General in Council.

†176 (page 21).

179. *From G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, K.C.B., Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 3719, dated Fort William, 11th September 1857 (received 12th October 1857).*

Disarming of troops at Peshάwar in May 1857 approved by the Governor-General in Council.

I AM directed by the Governor-General in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your Officiating Secretary's despatch dated the 25th May last, No. 6,‡ and in reply to acquaint you that His Lordship in Council entirely approves of the measures which were taken by the Commissioner of Peshawur for dis-

‡50 (Part I, page 63).

arming certain regiments at that place in consequence of the mutiny of the 55th Regiment of Native Infantry at Nowshera and Murdan.

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180. *From G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, K.C.B., Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 3722, dated Fort Willam, 11th September 1857 (received 12th October 1857).*

Approval by Government of the measures taken for the capture and disposal of the 26th Native Infantry;

I AM directed by the Governor-General in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your Officiating Secretary's despatch dated the 3rd ultimo, No. 34,* and in reply to acquaint you that His Lordship in Council highly commends the energetic measures taken by the Civil officers for the capture and disposal of the 26th Regiment Native Infantry, who had fled from Meean Meer after murdering their Commanding Officer.

*138 (Part I, page 283).

also of the determination of Sir John Lawrence to reinforce Delhi.

2. I am to add, with reference to paragraph 8, that the Governor-General in Council entirely approves of your determination to send every available soldier under your authority to reinforce Brigadier Wilson, Commanding the Army before Delhie.

3. Copies of paragraphs 3 to 8 and of the enclosures of paragraphs 7 and 8 have been sent to the Military Department for information.

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181. *From A. BRANDRETH, Esquire, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 52, dated Lahore, 11th September 1857.*

Comparative statement of European and Punjabi Troops and Hindustanis.

I AM directed to submit, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, copy of a statement which the Chief Commissioner has caused to be prepared showing the approximate number of European and Punjabee Troops in the different stations in the Punjab, and the number of

Hindostani Troops against which they have to guard, besides holding the country and defending the frontier.

Untrustworthiness of Hindustani soldiers.

2. Not a single man of the 18,920 Hindostani soldiers is now to be trusted. They are all a source of weakness and danger. In every station the European and Punjabee Regiments are on duty day and night, ready on the first alarm to fall on the Hindostanis. In some places, such as Peshawur, Lahore and Umritsur, the latter are in their tents pitched under the range of our guns. In no single station is there a soldier to spare; in some the Military authorities would even be averse to turning out a man to suppress an émeute. In no place, however, except at Peshawur, is our position, in the Chief Commissioner's judgment, actually critical.

Position at Pesháwar.

3. At Peshawur, however, we are by no means secure. The European Troops are now very sickly, and half the Punjabee soldiers there, as elsewhere, are mere recruits. The Chief Commissioner has no means of effectually reinforcing the Peshawur Valley. Europeans we have none to spare, and even the Punjabee Regiments are all required in their present positions. Within the last few days symptoms of disaffection have been shown in Huzara, and an attempt has even been made to attack and plunder the sanitarium at Murree. Fortunately the intention was known in time, and measures were adopted to meet and baffle the attempt. But Huzara is a tract in which an insurrection would prove very dangerous. The country is rugged and mountainous, and the people are Mahomedans; all armed, and though not peculiarly warlike, long accustomed to predatory warfare. They have been more especially kindly treated compared with the inhabitants of the rest of the Punjab. For they had suffered most severely during many years from the Seikhs, who habitually plundered the country. The change of rulers was to the people of Huzara of all other races a change which produced unmixed benefit,—a change which they have not failed to feel and appreciate. Still, the opportunity, which the absence of troops and the exposed and scattered character of a sanitarium offered, seems to have proved too strong a temptation for their virtue.

Symptoms of disaffection in Hazára and attempt to attack and plunder Murree.

4. The Chief Commissioner had anticipated danger in this quarter for some time, and had on this account kept Rawulpindee as strong as possible. But the necessity for disarming some regiments lower down towards Lahore, and of being in a position to coerce others, necessitated the removal of the greater part of the European Regiment from Rawulpindee. The weakness of the Army before Delhy, and the urgent necessity for reinforcing it, prevented the subsequent strengthening of Rawulpindee. The Chief Commissioner has now ordered the 12th Punjab Infantry to this station, from where in an emergency it can move across the Indus to Peshawur. At the urgent request of Brigadier-General S. Cotton, he has also authorized another regiment being raised at Peshawur.

Measures taken by the Chief Commissioner.

Raising of another regiment at Pesháwar.

5. Peshawur is no doubt our weak point. The large body of Hindostani soldiers still there, the sickness of the European Troops, the restless, fanatic and warlike character of the people, all render the Peshawur Valley a perfect political volcano. These elements of danger will now be still further increased, as it appears that Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan is about to come down to Jellalabad. It has been the custom of His Highness often to pass the winter at this place, as was formerly the practice of his predecessors. He did not come down last year, probably in consequence of the state of affairs at Herat.

Weakness of Pesháwar.

Movements of the Amir Dost Muhammad Khan.

We have no right to take umbrage at this move, and it is possible that no mischief is intended. But Jellalabad will afford the Ameer a convenient spot, from which he can, should he think proper, organize any schemes which opportunity may suggest. There can be no question, in the Chief Commissioner's judgment, that the effect of his presence at Jellalabad will be to complicate our difficulties.

6. The Chief Commissioner has every reason to hope that Delhy will fall within a few days. This event alone will doubtless produce a prodigious effect in clearing the political horizon. It will strengthen immensely our position in the Punjab. But the material aid which we shall gain will not be great, and even that aid cannot be brought immediately to bear. In the Army before Delhy are five corps of Punjabee

Anticipated fall of Delhi.

Troops besides one at Merutt and another at Hansi, seven in all. The Chief Commissioner neither has asked nor expects that any of them be sent back. He has limited his requests to one corps of European Infantry, which he hopes will return as quickly as possible. If this be done, he proposes that this regiment should hold Lahore, while Her Majesty's 81st should be pushed on to Peshawur. It may be possible also to take the new Punjab Corps from Lodhiana and transfer it to Rawulpindee.

Necessity for the return of a corps of European Infantry to the Punjab after the fall of Delhi.

Adherence of Sir John Lawrence to the instructions prohibiting the disbanding of Hindustani Troops.

7. The Supreme Government have expressed a desire that Hindostani soldiers be not disbanded, and be not allowed to return to their own country, and to these injunctions the Chief Commissioner has adhered as strictly as has been practicable. We must have destroyed at least 5,000 of this race since mutiny and insurrection broke out. Had our Generals been abler and more active, we should have done more. As it is we are now holding some 19,000 of these soldiers in a firm grip. But in doing this, we incapacitate our European and Punjabee Troops from acting with effect against danger from outside. So long as they commit no overt acts we cannot put these Hindostanees to death; we cannot even put them in irons and in jail, the only effectual modes of dealing with them. But we are quite certain that many of them only bide their time to break out.

Proposed disbanding of Hindustani Troops after the fall of Delhi.

8. So long as Delhy holds out, there are obvious and strong reasons for keeping these Hindostani Troops under surveillance. But when the city and palace once fall, the scene will altogether change. The mutineers will neither have strongholds, nor warlike material, nor even effective arms, with which to fight. Their prestige, their very organization will be gone; it will be a mere matter of time to disperse or destroy those who may endeavour to hold together.

The Chief Commissioner would then advocate that all corps which are known to be dangerous be disbanded and the men sent to their own homes. Many will gladly hide their shame in their villages. The few who will join their brethren in arms will prove quite insignificant, and will be far more

than counterbalanced by the good troops they will set free. The disbanded soldiers can do no harm. No one will listen to their intrigues and machinations; there will be none of their brethren with whom they can tamper with any effect.

Intention of Sir John Lawrence to defer disbanding Hindustani Troops, pending orders, unless danger menaces.

9. Aware as the Chief Commissioner is of the orders of the Supreme Government, he will not give his sanction to the proposed measure until the last moment, nor will he disband one regiment which it may be worth saving. But should danger menace, it will be necessary to act at once; it will be impossible to receive orders in time from the Supreme Government.

10. The Chief Commissioner does not forget that besides the loyal troops shown in the statement appended to this despatch he has seven battalions of Police Infantry in the Punjab, besides a large body of levies of various kinds. All the available means, however, are little enough to defend a frontier of 800 miles, to help in holding the country from the Solymani Range to the Jumna. The general disorganization in Hindostan, we must bear in mind, produces evil effects even in the Punjab. We have many Hindostanies even in our own Punjabee Regiments. The Police, the courts, the country are full of them. The Chief Commissioner has no desire to exaggerate our difficulties. He is anxious to carry out the instructions of Government to the best of his ability and the means at his disposal. Foreseeing, however, the dangers of our position; perceiving, as he believes he does, the only safe mode of dealing with them; and cut off as he is from immediate communication with His Lordship in Council, he can only act to the best of his judgment, simply delaying the carrying out of measures which Government may not apparently approve until the last moment.

Beneficial effect anticipated from the arrival of troops from England.

11. There is every reason to anticipate that within the next month regiments may arrive at Kurrachee from England. This circumstance alone will produce a beneficial effect in the Punjab, but it is scarcely possible that any portion of them can be brought to bear, in the event of a disturbance, for two months afterwards.

ENCLOSURE TO 181.

Approximate Statement of Poorbia soldiery, and reliable troops to watch them, in the Punjab,—10th September 1857.

Stations.	Details.	Poorbia soldiery: Armed.	Poorbia soldiery: Disarmed.	Watched by	Europeans.	Natives.	Remarks.
Peshawur (including Attock).	5th Cavalry	3,000	4,000	2 Troops, Horse Artillery	340	...	
	24th Native Infantry ...			2 Batteries, Artillery			
	27th " " ...			Peshawur Mountain Train ...	...	100	
	64th " " ...			Peshawur Light Horse	160	...	
	21st " " ...			2 European Regiments	1,480	...	
	Khelat-i-Ghilzies ...			2 New Punjab Corps	...	1,400	
	7th and 18th Irregular Cavalry and Artillery (500).			and at Attock and Nowshera—			
				1 European Regiment	590	...	
				1 Punjab Corps, new	...	600	

Murdan ...	2nd Punjab Cavalry ...	150	...	2nd Punjab Cavalry	...	150
				5th Punjab Infantry	...	758
Kohat ...	3 Companies, 58th Native Infantry.	250	250	3rd and 6th Punjab Infantry ...	...	1,100
	Men of 3rd and 6th Punjab Irregulars.			1 Battery, Punjab Artillery ...	...	100
				1 New Punjab Corps	...	500
Bunnoo ...	9th Irregular Cavalry ...	350	100	1 Punjab Battery	...	100
	3rd Seikhs			3 Sikh Infantry	...	700
Dera Ismael Khan	39th Native Infantry ...	250	800	1 Punjab Battery	...	100
	5th Punjab Cavalry ...			1 Punjab Cavalry	...	100
				1 New Punjab Corps	...	500
Dera Ghazee Khan	4th Punjab Cavalry ..	300	...	2 Guns, Punjab Irregular Force ...	...	40
	1st Seikhs			1 Sikh Infantry	...	700
Mooltan ...	62nd Native Infantry ..	500	1,700	1 Troop, Horse Artillery (new) ...	100	...
	69th " " ...			1st Bombay Fusiliers (wing) ...	450	...
	1st Irregular Cavalry ...			1 New Punjab Corps	...	650
Rawulpindee ...	58th Native Infantry (7 companies).	200	550	1 Battery, Artillery	100	...
	17th Irregular Cavalry (part*).			Her Majesty's 24th Regiment (part) ...	240	...
				1 New Punjab Corps	...	700

* 200 armed Poorbeas at Leia.

Approximate Statement of Poorbia soldiery, and reliable troops to watch them, in the Punjab,— 10th September 1857—continued.

Stations.	Details.	Poorbia soldiery: Armed.	Poorbia soldiery: Disarmed.	Watched by	Europeans.	Natives.	Remarks.
Murree ...	...	...	...	Convalescent Depôt	150	...	
				Detachment, 2nd Seikhs	...	500	
Meean Meer, including Lahore.		...	2,300	2 Troops, Horse Artillery	200	...	
	16th Native Infantry ...			Her Majesty's 81st Regiment (part) ...	350	...	
	49th " " ...			1 New Punjab Corps	...	700	
	8th Cavalry ...			and at Anarkullee and Lahore Fort—			
	9th " (part) ...			Lahore Light Horse ...	80	...	
				European Infantry and Artillery ...	200	...	
				New Punjab Corps	...	700	

Umritsur ...	59th Native Infantry ...	...	1,700	Moveable Column	200	160
	35th „ „ ...			Detail Artillery and Infantry in Govindghur.	150	...
	Artillery					
Jullundur and Hoshearpoor.	33rd Native Infantry ...	400	1,200	Detachment, 24th Regiment ...	100	...
	16th Irregular Cavalry ...			3 Guns, Horse Artillery	100	...
	4th Native Infantry (wing)			1 New Punjab Corps	...	700
				1 Troop, Punjab Cavalry	...	54
Kangra ...	4th Native Infantry (wing)	...	400	Convalescents	50	...
				Punjabees, 4th Native Infantry ...	...	100
Goordaspoor ...	2nd Irregular Cavalry ...	400	...	Levies, District	...	100
Ferozepoor ...	10th Cavalry (part) ...	...	120	1st Bombay Fusiliers (wing) ...	450	...
				Detail Artillery, 6 guns	100	...
				1 New Corps	...	400

Approximate Statement of Poorbia soldiery, and reliable troops to watch them, in the Punjab,— 10th September 1857—concluded.

Stations.	Details.	Poorbia soldiery		Watched by	Europeans.	Natives.	Remarks.
		Armed.	Disarmed.				
Umballa ...	...	In prison		Detachment, 8th Regiment ...	250	...	
				1 New Punjab Corps	...	350	
Phillour and Loodianah.	...	...	...	1 New Punjab Corps and detachment of Infantry and Artillery.	130	950	
		5,800	13,120		5,970	12,912	
		18,920					

S. BLACK,
Staff Officer, Punjab Irregular Force.

182. *Translation of Delhi news of 12th September 1857, received from the Commissioner and Superintendent, Cis-Sutlej States.*

Toorab Alli.—The enemy are constructing four breast-works inside the city,—two at the Cabool Gate and two at the Cashmere Gate. Everybody, high or low, is seized for begar. There was a talk of a mine in the Church compound, but it has not been laid yet. Many of the sepoys are deserting. Delhi news, 12th September 1857.

Gowree Shunkur.—Two heavy cast iron guns are planted at the Church. They are loaded with grape and point towards the Cashmere Gate. Two guns are also mounted in the street near the old dispensary. This street connects the Cashmere Gate with the "Nigumbode" and the Kooria Bridge. Two other guns are posted at Colonel Skinner's house pointing towards the Cashmere Gate. In other parts of the city, in the streets leading to the Moree, Lahore and Cabool Gates, there are 25 guns "en barbette" ready to fire on any threatened point. Two breastworks have also been constructed,—one under the walls close to the Post Office, and just behind Mr. Charles' shop, and the other between the "Shah Bastion" and the Cabool Gate. Each holds two guns and others will follow. The fringe of the battlements has been broken down to give these guns a range towards the British Batteries. The guns at the "Shah Bastion" have been effectually silenced. The number of guns at the Cashmere, Cabool and Moree Gates has been increased. The fire from the British Batteries carries away the crest of the battlements, but does little damage to the wall itself. The citizens took part in yesterday's fight, and Moulvee Nawazish Alli of Habree, in the Thaneisur District, with 2,000 men, went out to battle. The sepoys have sworn to each other to die like martyrs on the day of the assault. Those who desert are brought back and disgraced before all their comrades. There is a gun planted at the "Neilee Chutree," close to the Nigumbode. The battery at Shahdera, across the river, has

Delhi news, 12th September 1857.

been advanced nearer. A mint has been established and the silver of the King's howdahs, sticks of office, and utensils are sent to the mint to be coined into rupees for the use of the army. From a reliable source I have just heard that a mine is laid under the main guard at the Cashmere Gate. A trench and breastwork have been constructed at the Canal Bridge, between the Cabool and Moree Gates. Ameen-ood-deen and Zeah-ood-deen, sons of Nawab Ahmud Bukhsh, are prevented, by order of the King, from leaving Delhi. The city people hear that Mussalmans are killed without mercy by the British, but Hindoos are spared. For this reason the Mussalmans are prepared to fight. This report should be contradicted; otherwise the rebellion may spread.

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183. *From A. BRANDRETH, Esquire, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 53, dated Lahore, 12th September 1857.*

Cause of the mutiny of the 51st Native Infantry at Peshäwar.

WITH reference to paragraph 3 of my despatch No. 46* of the 2nd instant, reporting the mutiny of the 51st Native Infantry at Peshawur, I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to submit copies of the correspondence marginally noted, giving an account of this affair, from which it will be seen that the regiment mutinied consequent on their lines being searched for concealed arms and ammunition, and not, as was supposed, because the men were ordered into camp.

*169 (page 3).

From Captain Bartlett, Commanding 18th Punjab Infantry, No. 48, dated 30th August 1857.
From Brigadier-General S. Cotton, Commanding Peshawur Division, No. 374, dated 5th September 1857, with five enclosures.

Commendation of Brigadier-General Cotton for his arrangements.

2. The arrangements which Brigadier-General Cotton has made since the commencement of these unhappy disturbances appear to the Chief Commissioner to have been excellent, and to reflect high credit on that officer.

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 183.

From Captain J. BARTLETT, Commanding 18th Punjab Infantry, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 48, dated Peshawur, 30th August 1857.

Search for arms in the lines of the 51st Regiment Native Infantry at Peshâwar.

I HAVE the honor to report, for the information of the Chief Commissioner, that in accordance with orders received from the Major of Brigade I proceeded at gunfire on the morning of the 28th instant, with the regiment under my command, to conduct a search for concealed arms in the 51st Regiment Native Infantry.

2. The search was conducted agreeably to the instructions received, but took much longer than we had anticipated, so that the midday gun had fired when we proceeded to search the property of the two last companies.

The regiment rises and attacks the officers of the 18th Punjab Infantry.

3. The search was going on under the inspection of Lieutenant Roberts, 18th Punjab Infantry, Ensign Platt, 51st Regiment, and myself when the men of the 51st Regiment rose as by one consent and rushed upon us, and had it not been for the prompt assistance rendered by the men of my regiment we should undoubtedly have been killed. As it was, I got a severe "lathee-marring"; one cut on the head which, though it bled profusely, has not done me much harm, and a scratch with a bayonet. I managed to get into a tank, where I drew my revolver and kept off my assailants.

Captain Bartlett mobbed.

Adventures of Ensign Platt and Lieutenant Roberts.

4. Ensign Platt had a tussle with a man in the water, who, however, loosed his hold on seeing my pistol.

5. Lieutenant Roberts pulled trigger twice at the first man who attacked me, but his pistols both missed fire. He was then knocked down three times successively by lathees.

6. Our men could not fire immediately, as the recruits of the regiment were mixed up with the men of the 51st Native Infantry, whose property they were searching.

Escape of Lieutenant Roberts and his return with troops.

7. Lieutenant Roberts escaped in the direction of the lines, and taking command of the men commenced firing and came towards the scene of the first assault (the tank), where I met him and resumed command.

Casualties among the mutineers and their flight.

8. When our men opened fire on the mutineers about 50 fell at once in front of the lines and the rest fled precipitately in all directions, whilst a number more were killed in the lines.

Pursuit of the mutineers and the number killed.

9. I sounded the assembly, and when the men were collected proceeded in pursuit. On the grand parade ground we fell in with a party of 20 men, who were immediately shot down, and 10 or 12 more of the mutineers were killed on different parts of the parade ground.

10. We carried on the pursuit across the Jumrood road, and continued it in the direction of the village of "Thakul Bala," searching the ravines and long standing crops in extended order. Many fugitives were thus discovered and killed by our men.

11. The heat was intense, and, after going about two miles, the men, who had been under arms and fasting since 4 A. M., began to suffer considerably from it, so that by the time we had arrived at Thakul, about three miles from the lines of the 51st Native Infantry, I was obliged to sound a halt to allow the men a little rest.

Arrival of Captain James, Deputy Commissioner.

12. Captain James, the Deputy Commissioner, here came up with a body of the District Horse, and continued the pursuit, having ascertained from us the direction the fugitives had taken.

Return of Captain Bartlett's party to cantonments.

13. When the District Horse had passed, Colonel Chute, Commanding the Left Wing of the Peshawur Brigade, came up and ordered us to go through the village of Thakul, which we did, and then returned to cantonments by a different route, again beating up the standing crops on our way. Lieutenant Roberts was on the right of the line, and in searching a very high crop one of our men was wounded in the breast by a shot fired by an armed fugitive. Lieutenant Roberts entered the khet and rode over the man, who fired at him and the ball grazed his right arm; his assailant was immediately despatched by the men. We then returned to the lines.

Services of Lieutenants Keyton and Roberts.

14. Lieutenant Keyton, though on the sick report on the 27th instant, joined the regiment at the very commencement, and I am much indebted to his cheering voice for the way in

which the men kept up the pursuit. Lieutenant Roberts was with me everywhere, and nothing could exceed his activity.

15. The whole regiment, Native commissioned officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, behaved admirably from first to last, and considering that more than two-thirds of them were only recruits, the steady way in which they fired and manœuvred quite surprised me. Admirable behaviour of 18th Punjab Infantry.

16. The pursuit commenced at 12½ and the men did not return to their lines until 4½ P.M. Many suffered much from the heat, which was very trying, more especially as they had been fasting since morning.

17. We had to leave a strong guard for the protection of the lines and the treasure; so that we had not above 200 men with us in the pursuit. I was unable to count the dead, but I consider that from 80 to 100 men were killed in the lines and from 40 to 50 in the pursuit. Number of mutineers killed.

18. The casaulties on our side are one Jemadar (Bootah Khan) and three Privates killed; one Havildar and three Privates wounded; and one Jemadar (Bahawul Bukhsh) missing. Of the killed two were recruits without arms. The Jemadar killed died from concussion of the brain, caused by a blow from a "lathee." I have been unable to ascertain the fate of the missing Jemadar, but fear he has been killed. Casualties on our side.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 183.

From Brigadier-General SYDNEY COTTON, Commanding Peshawur Division, to the Military Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 374, dated Peshawur, 5th September 1857.

Mutiny of the disarmed 51st Regiment at Pesháwar.

I HAVE the honor to forward, for the information of the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, the accompanying copies of documents marginally noted, connected with the recent mutiny of the late 51st Regiment Native Infantry, which occurred on the 28th ultimo.

My letter No. 366, dated 3rd instant, to the Acting Adjutant-General of the Army.
Colonel Galloway's letter No. 1741, dated 1st instant.
Extract Division Orders Nos. 456, 462 and 476, dated respectively 28th and 29th ultimo and 2nd instant.

ENCLOSURE (3) TO 183.

From Brigadier-General SYDNEY COTTON, *Commanding Peshawur Division, to the Acting Adjutant-General of the Army,—No. 366, dated Peshawur, 3rd September 1857.*

Brigadier-General Cotton's report to Army Head-Quarters.

I HAVE the honor to forward herewith, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and for the consideration of Government, the annexed report from Colonel Galloway, Commanding Peshawur District, regarding the mutiny and immediate destruction of the 51st Regiment Native Infantry, which was disarmed under my orders on the 22nd May last; also my Division Order No. 462, dated 29th ultimo, directing the removal of the 51st Native Infantry from the strength of the Peshawur Division, and No. 476, dated 2nd instant, regarding the mutiny of that corps.

Search for arms in the lines of disarmed corps.

2. Having received from time to time intelligence on which I could more or less rely, that the disarmed corps, as per margin, in the Peshawur Cantonment, had been collecting and secreting arms and ammunition, I instructed Colonel Galloway to order a search of the lines of each regiment for arms, &c., but no discovery was made at this time. Still rumours prevailed to the effect that the regiments continued secretly to provide themselves with arms for any emergency, and I therefore resolved that the Staff Officers of the Division and Station should make a most careful search of the lines under well concerted arrangements, during which the 51st Regiment Native Infantry, as reported by Colonel Galloway, broke out.

5th Light Cavalry.
24th Regiment Native Infantry.
27th " " "
51st " " "
64th " " "

Mutiny of the 51st Regiment.

Disposal of European officers belonging to the 51st Native Infantry.

3. I beg to report that I have temporarily attached the European officers of the 51st Regiment Native Infantry to corps as undermentioned, where their services were urgently required:—

Captain Wallace to the 21st Native Infantry.
Captain Darnell to the 7th Irregular Cavalry.
Brevet-Captain Ward to the 7th Irregular Cavalry.
Ensign Platt to the 18th Punjab Infantry.

4. I cannot conclude this communication without bringing to the notice of Government the excellent conduct of the 18th Punjab Infantry, under the command of Captain Bartlett, during the mutiny of the 51st Regiment Native Infantry. Considering that this corps has been but very recently organized, it performed a trying duty in a manner which reflects the highest credit to both its officers and men.

Excellent conduct of the 18th Punjab Infantry under Captain Bartlett.

ENCLOSURE (4) TO 183.

From Colonel J. J. GALLOWAY, Commanding Peshawur Brigade, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant General, Peshawur,—No. 1741, dated Peshawur, 1st September 1857.

I HAVE the honor to report, for the information of the Brigadier-General Commanding the Division, that, at half an hour after noon on the 28th ultimo while a search was being made for arms in the lines of the disarmed regiments, at this, the 51st Regiment Native Infantry broke out into open mutiny, and rushed upon the officers of the 18th Punjab Infantry who were superintending the search of the lines of the two last companies of the 51st Regiment Native Infantry, and but for the prompt assistance rendered by the men of the Punjab Infantry these officers would have been killed. Another party of the mutineers rushed towards the barracks and magazine of the Peshawur Light Horse; both parties of mutineers were repulsed with a severe loss; and a third party which had made for the lines of the 18th Irregular Cavalry were immediately made prisoners. Others of the mutineers who had made off in the direction of the Peach Gardens were followed up, and nearly all taken prisoners by a party of the 18th Irregular Cavalry; while others making for the Sudder Bazaar were pursued and nearly all killed by some soldiers of Her Majesty's 27th and 70th Regiments.

Report by Colonel J. J. Galloway, Commanding the Peshâwar Brigade, on the mutiny of the 51st Native Infantry.

Attack on the officers of the 18th Punjab Infantry.

Repulse of mutineers.

Casualties among mutineers.

2. In the meantime these two corps had turned out with the greatest celerity and were judiciously posted by Lieutenant-Colonel Kyle, Commanding Left Half Brigade. The main body of the mutineers, having failed in these attacks, ran off

Departure of main body of the mutineers for Jamrúd.

Pursuit of mutineers. Number killed.

towards Jumrood, followed by the 18th Punjab Infantry, in skirmishing order, across the plain. Colonel Chute, Commanding Right Half-Brigade, took the two guns attached to Her Majesty's 70th Regiment, supported by some men of Her Majesty's 27th Regiment, towards the second Police thanah on the Khyber road, for the purpose of cutting off the retreat of the mutineers towards the hills; but finding the guns were not likely to be of much use, he joined the 18th Punjab Infantry, who killed numbers of the mutineers. Colonel Chute, afterwards returning for Cavalry, met Captain James, Deputy Commissioner, who with astonishing rapidity got out his Mooltan Horse and caught up the fugitives, killing about 50.

3. The Brigadier-General having come up, a squadron of the 18th Irregular Cavalry were by his orders sent in pursuit, as also a troop of the Peshawur Light Horse for the protection of the guns, and about this time the 16th Punjab Infantry and Major Barr's Troop of Horse Artillery went in pursuit.

Number of mutineers destroyed by a party of Multani Horse.

4. I have omitted to mention that a party of the Mooltan Horse, about 60, attached to the Peshawur Light Horse, were despatched under the command of Lieutenant Gostling early in pursuit. This party killed from 15 to 20 of the sepoys and took 37 prisoners.

Severity of punishment inflicted on the mutineers. Our losses.

5. The punishment inflicted on the mutineers was very severe, and I regret to say not without loss on the side of the loyal troops, particularly the gallant 18th Punjab Infantry. But, as will be seen by the accompanying return, the 51st Regiment Native Infantry is nearly annihilated.

Services of troops.

6. Nothing could exceed the cheerful alarcity with which the whole of the troops acted under a burning sun, from which several fell victims, and I have much satisfaction in bringing to notice, for the favourable consideration of the Brigadier-General, the conduct of the following men, who are strongly recommended by Captain Fane, Commanding Peshawur Light Horse:—

Mooltan Horse attached to the Peshawur Light Horse.

Jemadar Bahadoor Khan }
" Sudah Khan } excellent conduct in pursuit.

Mooltan Foot attached to the Peshawur Light Horse.

Jemadar Fuzel Khan.
" Soohawa Khan.

As soon as the mutiny broke out these Native officers drew their men across the road in rear of Captain Fane's tent, shot several mutineers and prevented others from passing.

Native Troop (3rd) Peshawur Light Horse.

Bussonath Singh, Naick.
Gunga Singh, Trooper.
Suogah Singh, "
Suddah Singh, "
Mugpall Singh, "

These men were on guard at the magazine, and, though exposed to a cross-fire, did their duty steadily, beating off a rush of the 51st Native Infantry to attack the magazine, one of whom was shot down by Mugpall Singh.

7. I have also to bring to the notice of the Brigadier-General the excellent conduct of the Thanahdar of Hurree Singh-ki-Boorj, who brought in 89 prisoners. Conduct of the Thanadar of Hari Singh-ki-Burj.

Return shewing the disposition of the 51st Regiment Native Infantry. Return showing disposal of 51st Native Infantry.

Total strength (all ranks included) on the 22nd August 1857	871
Shot by Captain Bartlett's Regiment, the 18th Punjab Infantry	125
Killed by a party of District Police under Captain James, Deputy Commissioner	40
Killed by a party of Mooltan Horse under Lieutenant Gostling, 5th Light Cavalry	15
Killed by villagers, Peshawur Light Horse, Her Majesty's 27th and 70th Regiments, 16th Punjab Infantry ...	36
Shot by 87th Regiment on the 28th instant by sentence of Drumhead Court-Martial	187
Shot by 87th Regiment on the 29th instant by sentence of Drumhead Court-Martial	167

Return showing the disposition of the 51st Regiment Native Infantry—concluded.

Shot by 27th and 70th Regiments on the 29th instant by sentence of Drumhead Court-Martial	84	
Wounded and killed by Thannadar at Hurree Singh	5	
In confinement	110	
Drummers	23	
Men on duty as orderlies not included as prisoners	10	
Known to have passed in hills ...	40	
Total killed, confined, escaped ...	842	842
Remaining to be accounted for ...		29
Total ...		871

J. J. GALLOWAY, COLONEL,
Commanding Peshawur Brigade.

Return of casualties.

Return of killed, wounded and missing on our side.

Killed, Her Majesty's 70th Regiment		1 Private.
" 18th Punjab Infantry ...		1 Native officer.
" " ...		3 Privates.
Wounded, "	wounded severely	1 Havildar. 3 Privates.
Missing " ...		1 Native officer.
Wounded, Peshawur Light Horse ...		1 Private.
Died from sunstroke	Artillery ...	1 Private.
	Her Majesty's 70th Regiment (attached to Peshawur Light Horse) ...	1 Private.

Lieutenant-Colonel Cooper died from sunstroke on 28th during the mutiny.

Lieutenant and Adjutant Scheberras, Her Majesty's 70th Regiment, charger shot.

Peshawur Light Horse—1 horse died from heat and exertion.

J. J. GALLOWAY, COLONEL,
Commanding Peshawur Brigade

ENCLOSURE (5) TO 183.

Extract Division Orders issued by Brigadier-General COTTON, *Commanding Peshawur Division,—No. 456, dated Division Head-Quarters, Peshawur, 28th August 1857.*

Levelling of lines of disarmed troops at Pesháwar.

ARMS and ammunition having been found secreted in the lines of disarmed troops, the whole of the lines of these corps will be at once levelled by the elephants, and these troops will be encamped on ground to be pointed out by the Assistant Quartermaster-General of the Division.

ENCLOSURE (6) TO 183.

Extract Division Orders issued by Brigadier-General COTTON, *Commanding Peshawur Division,—No. 462, dated Division Head-Quarters, Peshawur, 29th August 1857.*

Disbanding of the 51st Native Infantry.

THE 51st Regiment Native Infantry, having mutinied on the 28th instant, the Brigadier-General Commanding the Division directs that the corps shall be struck off the strength of the Division from that date.

Colonel Galloway, Commanding Peshawur District, will be pleased to issue the necessary orders for all arms, accoutrements, camp equipage and other Government property in use with the regiment to be collected and with the regimental colors and records to be lodged in the Peshawur Magazine.

ENCLOSURE (7) TO 183.

Extract Division Orders issued by Brigadier-General COTTON, *Commanding Peshawur Division,—No. 476, dated Division Head-Quarters, Peshawur, 2nd September 1857.*

Order issued by Brigadier-General Cotton on the suppression of the outbreak of the 51st Native Infantry at Pesháwar.

THE recent outbreak, *en masse*, of the soldiers of the 51st Regiment Native Infantry brings another corps on the long list of those which, after years of gallantry and meritorious services, have basely revolted against the Government, and on no occasion throughout the land has retribution more speedily or thoroughly awaited the mutiny and treachery of these misguided men.

2. Terrible indeed has been the example made of this formerly esteemed and highly disciplined corps. In a few hours

the 51st Regiment Native Infantry, which had served the State upwards of half a century, and proudly bore on its colors the words "Punniar," "Punjab," "Mooltan" and "Goojrat," ceased to exist, and those colors have been thrown into the shade and put out of sight for ever.

3. Prompt and sure has been, and ever will be, the punishment awarded in the Peshawur Division to the perpetrators of atrocious crimes. Mutineers and deserters must suffer the extreme penalty of the law, and let these just and fearful examples be solemn warnings for the future.

4. To the loyal, true and well affected of Her Majesty's and the Hon'ble Company's Forces under his command, who on many trying occasions and throughout have evinced the most determined and energetic bearing, Brigadier-General Cotton tenders his warmest thanks. At the recent mutiny the conduct of the troops was most exemplary. The heat was excessive, and many valuable men in the discharge of their duty were laid low by an overpowering sun.

5. The best thanks of the Brigadier-General are especially due, and they are warmly given, to Brigadier Galloway, Commanding the Peshawur District, and to Colonel Chute of Her Majesty's 70th Regiment, and Lieutenant-Colonel Kyle, Her Majesty's 27th Inniskillings, Commanding Wings of the Peshawur Brigade, as well as to the whole of the Staff and Regimental officers employed in a service of very considerable difficulty.

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184. *From A. BRANDRETH, Esquire, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 54, dated Lahore, 15th September 1857.*

Assault and entry into Delhi on the 14th September 1857.

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner to report for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council that the city of Delhy was assaulted and entered by our troops between 3 and 4 A.M. yesterday.

2. A copy of the various telegrams which were received during the day is herewith enclosed. The resistance inside has been very determined. But at 7 P.M. we appear to have been in possession of three gates, the Cashmere, Moree and Cabulee, which probably extend to a distance of nearly a mile. Heavy guns and mortars had already been brought into play on the palace, magazine and such parts of the town as were held by the mutineers. The Chief Commissioner thinks that it may be fairly anticipated that many of the mutineers will have decamped during the night. The magazine is well known to be a place of no strength; and a bombardment of the palace can hardly fail to induce either a speedy surrender or its evacuation. **Our position as disclosed by telegrams received.**

3. I am to add that our loss appears to have been very severe. Among many brave and good soldiers, there is not one who in merit, by general consent, can surpass Brigadier-General John Nicholson. He was an officer equal to any emergency. His loss, more particularly at a time like this, is greatly to be deplored. **Our losses. Brigadier-General John Nicholson wounded.**

P. S.—Lahore, 4 P.M.—The following message has just been received by Electric Telegraph :—

Telegram from Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army, Delhie, to Mr. BARNES, Colonel MACPHERSON and General GOWAN, Umballa and Lahore,—dated 15th September 1857.

It is now 9 A.M., 15th September. We continue to occupy the city from the College to Cabul Gate, and the enemy holds the magazine, which we are now shelling. The palace is likewise being shelled. Many of the mutineers have fled yesterday. The following officers were killed :—Lieutenant Tandy, Engineers; Lieutenant FitzGerald, 75th Foot; Lieutenant Bradshaw, 52nd Foot; Captain McBarnet, 55th Native Infantry; and Lieutenant Murray, Guide Corps. Major Jacob, 1st Fusiliers, has died from his wounds. About 30 officers have been wounded, including Brigadier-General Nicholson, Lieutenants Nicholson of Coke's Regiment, Greathed, Maunsell, Chesney, Salkeld, Brownlow, Hovenden and Medley of Engineers; Waters and Curtis, 60th Rifles; Rosser of Carbineers danger- **Position at 9 A.M. on 15th September. List of killed and wounded.**

ously; Anson, Aide-de-Camp; Baynes, Pogson, 8th Foot; Greville, Wemyss and Owen, 1st Fusiliers; Reid, Sirmoor Battalion; Boisragon, Kumaon Battalion, and several others whose names have not been yet received. Returns have not been received, but our total loss is estimated at 500.

NOTE.—For reply see 220 (page 216).

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 184.

Telegram from G. C. BARNES, Esquire, Umballa, to Chief Commissioner, Lahore,—dated 14th September 1857.

Storming of Delhi on 14th September.

GENERAL WILSON reports from Delhie as follows:—Delhie has been assaulted this morning, but fighting going on. One column making slow progress. 10 A.M., Delhie City.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 184.

Telegram from G. C. BARNES, Esquire, Umballa, to Chief Commissioner,—dated 14th September 1857.

Hard fighting going on.

IT is now 12-30 noon. Mr. Browne of the Telegraph Department at Delhie reports that hard fighting still continues. We hold the Cashmere and Moree Gates and bastions, and part of the main street. Our losses I fear are heavy.

ENCLOSURE (3) TO 184.

Telegram from G. C. BARNES, Esquire, Umballa, to Chief Commissioner,—dated 14th September 1857.

Frustration of attempt of mutineers to cross the bridge-of-boats.

IT is now 3-15 P.M. Still no official message, but Mr. Browne reports that some of the mutineers attempted to cross by the bridge-of-boats, but were stopped by the fire of Light Field guns. The 1st Bengal Fusiliers charged a battery four times and ultimately captured the guns. The city and bazaars are gradually falling into our hands.

ENCLOSURE (4) TO 184.

Telegram from Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army, Camp before Delhie, to Mr. BARNES, Colonel MACPHERSON and General GOWAN,—dated 14th September 1857.

IT is 2-30 P.M., 14th September. We hold the line of the city from the Cabul Gate to the College Gardens. Our loss has been severe; but we hope during the evening and night to make good progress. Brigadier-General Nicholson severely wounded.

Position at Delhi at 2-30 P.M. on 14th September. Nicholson wounded.

ENCLOSURE (5) TO 184.

Telegram from Brigadier CHAMBERLAIN, Delhie, to Sir JOHN LAWRENCE,—dated 14th September 1857 (7 P.M.).

OUR position is the same as last report, and no attempt to make any progress to-night. Our mortars have been taken in, and are firing against Selimgurh, palace and the town. The Battery guns have also been taken in, to breach magazine and palace. The guns and mortars captured in the bastions have been turned against the mutineers. They continue to offer the most determined resistance. Our loss is very severe, particularly officers. Amongst the *killed* are Captain McBarnet, Lieutenant Murray, 42nd Native Infantry, Lieutenant Tandy, Engineers.

Shelling of Selimgarh, Palace, &c.

Determined resistance offered by mutineers. Our losses.

Dangerously wounded—Brigadier-General Nicholson, Captain Rosser, 6th Dragoon Guards; Major Jacob, 1st Fusiliers.

Very severely wounded—Captain Holmes, 1st Fusiliers, Lieutenant Greville, Lieutenant Owen, 1st Fusiliers, and Lieutenant Speke, doing duty with 1st Fusiliers, and Lieutenant Nicholson (arm amputated).

Severely wounded—Lieutenant Chesney, Engineers, Lieutenant Greathed, Engineers, Lieutenant Maunsell, Engineers, Major Reid and Captain Boisragon.

Slightly wounded—Lieutenant Bondand Lieutenant Shebbeare of the Guide Corps, Colonel Campbell, Her Majesty's 52nd, and Lieutenant Wemyss, 1st Fusiliers.

Return of rank and file not yet received.

185. *Translation of the Delhee news of 15th September 1857, received from the Commissioner and Superintendent, Cis-Sutlej States.*

Delhi news, 15th September 1857.

Rujjub Allee, 15th September.—I went towards the city to gather news, and approached close to the walls. I met numerous doolies of the wounded. I ascertained that General Nicholson was wounded. He was in the Church with General Chamberlain, Mr. Greathed, Sir T. Metcalfe, and others. There was a heavy musketry fire directed on the place by the rebels. The British flag was floating over the Cashmere Bastion, and proclaiming far and wide the victory of the troops. To-day I heard that parties of the rebels were deserting by the Kootub road and towards Rewaree, and a few by other routes. But still there is a strong muster of them just outside the Ajmere Gate. Sowars are out on the various roads endeavouring to stop fugitives, and to persuade them to return, but they will not turn back. There are not many rebels inside the city up to the Delhee Gate. The guns have been sent for from cantonments to the city, and shells are falling over the palace. General Wilson and Colonel Becher are both inside the city. The city was assaulted in two columns, one by the Teleewara suburbs (Moree Gate) and the other by the Cashmere Gate. The Teleewara Column had most severe fighting. The Cashmere Troops suffered severely: about 150 killed and wounded. Some five or six Jheend sowars were hit. The shops as far as our possession extended were all given up to plunder. All plunderers were stopped at the gates and made to give up all they had got. The plunder was being collected and put under a guard. About 2,000 rebels were killed and 1,000 wounded. To-day's account is not yet received.

The Cashmere Troops were at the Teleewara suburbs; they fled and left all their guns in the hands of the enemy. The Europeans rushed forward and retook the guns, and killed hundreds of the rebels. The Europeans also suffered severely. The guns of the Cashmere Force were only saved by the courage of the European Troops. A hurkara has just come in from Nujjufgurh and reports that the rebel Cavalry have been flying in parties of 50 to 20 past that town.

186. *From A. BRANDRETH, Esquire, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 55, dated Lahore, 16th September 1857.*

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner to submit, for the information of the Supreme Government, copy of the telegrams which have been received from Delhy since the despatch of my letter No. 54* of yesterday's date. Further messages from Delhi.

*184 (page 44).

2. Now that the magazine is in our possession, we shall have a secure and commanding position from whence to bombard the palace, and the Chief Commissioner anticipates its early fall. With the palace in our possession the city can scarcely be long tenable by the mutineers. Magazine in our possession. Early fall of palace anticipated.

3. News has just arrived of the death on the 9th instant of the Hon'ble John Colvin, Lieutenant-Governor of Agra, and of the Mhow mutineers having crossed the Chumbul and marched on towards Delhy. They will probably fall back should they hear of the fall of Delhy. Death of the Hon'ble John Colvin, Lieutenant-Governor, Agra.

P. S.—Lahore, 4 P. M. The following further message has just been received :—

Telegram from General CHAMBERLAIN to Chief Commissioner, Punjab.

It is 2 P. M., 16th September. A report has just been brought in that Kishengunje and suburbs have been totally evacuated by the mutineers, leaving their heavy guns in position. The spies report all organization of regiments at an end. The inhabitants and women with babes at their breasts are going from the town. General Nicholson thinks himself a little better, but the Doctor reports no improvement, although he is free from pain. We have removed him into a house, as he suffers much from heat. Evacuation of Kishanganj by the mutineers. Flight of inhabitants from the town. Condition of Nicholson unchanged.

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 186.

Telegram from G. C. BARNES, Esquire, Umballa, to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—dated 15th September 1857.

IT is now 9 A. M., 15th September. Hard fighting has been going on in the city since daybreak. Our mortars are pouring shells into the palace and Selimgurh. We are in di- Hard fighting at Delhi. Shelling of the palace and Selimgarh.

rect communication with Delhi. Mr. Browne has gone down to collect news.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 186.

Telegram from the Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army, Delhi, to Mr. BARNES, Umballa; Colonel MACPHERSON and General GOWAN, Lahore,—dated 15th September 1857.

City from College to Kábul Gate occupied by British. Magazine and palace held by mutineers and being shelled. Casualties.

IT is now 9 A. M., 15th September. We continue to occupy the city from the College to Cabul Gate and the enemy holds the magazine, which we are now shelling. The palace is likewise being shelled. Many of the mutineers have fled yesterday. The following officers were killed:—Lieutenant Tandy, Engineers; Lieutenant Fitzgerald, 75th Foot; Lieutenant Bradshaw, 52nd Foot; Captain McBarnet, 55th Native Infantry, and Lieutenant Murray, Guide Corps. Major Jacob, 1st Fusiliers, has died from his wounds. About 30 officers have been wounded, including Brigadier-General Nicholson; Lieutenant Nicholson of Coke's Regiment; Greathed, Maunsell, Chesney, Salkeld, Brownlow, Hovenden and Medley of Engineers; Waters and Curtis, 60th Rifles; Rosser of Carbineers: dangerously—Anson, Aide-de-Camp; Baynes, Pogson, 8th Foot; Greville, Wemyss and Owen, 1st Fusiliers; Reid, Sirmoor Battalion; Boisragon, Kumaon Battalion; and several others whose names have not been yet received. Returns have not been received, but our total loss is estimated at 500.

ENCLOSURE (3) TO 186.

Telegram from Brigadier-General CHAMBERLAIN, Delhi, to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore,—dated 15th September 1857.

Description of General Nicholson's wound and his condition. Our position in Delhi.

GENERAL NICHOLSON is wounded in the back of the chest; rib fractured; cavity of the chest opened; very dangerous; there is however a hope of his recovery. His brother is doing well. Our position in the town is the same as yesterday evening. Our guns and mortars are at work on the magazine, palace and Selimgurh. The guns on the Moree and Cabul Bastions are also in play on the Burn Bastion and Lahore Gate, new positions occupied by mutineers. Some Cavalry and In-

fantry have left since yesterday evening, but the garrison still shew every intention of disputing our further entrance. The General is not well and fatigued. Kissengunje is still occupied, but fires very little. The Sikhs are deserting them. Be on the look out for Agra fellows returning to the Punjab. I think the mutineers are sorely perplexed what to do or where to go. I have left Hindoo Rao's house, and am going to join at Skinner's.

ENCLOSURE (4) TO 186.

Telegram from Captain NORMAN, Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army, Delhi, to Mr. BARNES, Umballa; Colonel MACPHERSON and General GOWAN, Lahore,—dated 16th September 1857.

Breaching of the Magazine.

IT is 8 P. M., 15th September. All well. We have made a breach in the magazine and storm it at dawn. The enemy's musketry fire is much reduced.

ENCLOSURE (5) TO 186.

Telegram from the Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army, Delhi, to Mr. BARNES, Umballa; Colonel MACPHERSON and General GOWAN, Lahore,—dated 16th September 1857.

Occupation of the Magazine.

IT is 7 A. M., 16th September. The magazine was stormed at daylight by 61st Foot, Belooch Battalion, and part of Wilde's Regiment. We had only a few wounded, and the enemy about 40 killed. 125 guns were taken in the magazine.

187. *From A. BRANDRETH, Esquire, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 56, dated Lahore, 16th September 1857.*

Delhi news of 10th, 11th and 12th September 1857.

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner to forward, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, copy of two news-letters containing an interesting account of the state of affairs in the city of Delhy on the 10th, 11th and 12th of this month.

2. The near approach of the time for the assault and the imminency of the danger appear to have roused up the flag-

ging courage of the mutineers. It is much to be regretted, the Chief Commissioner thinks, that the Seikhs could not be prevailed on to secede from the cause. This only serves to show that when disaffection and insurrection once gain strength those who have no real interest, nor sympathy in the struggle, are led to commit themselves beyond recall.

ENCLOSURE TO 187.

Translation of Delhee news-letters received from the Commissioner and Superintendent, Cis-Sutlej States.

Delhi news of 10th September 1857.

Futteh Mohumud, 10th September.—According to orders, yesterday evening I visited the Fort and all quarters of the city. At the Fort and at the Lahore and Delhee Gates I found the guard stronger than usual, and every preparation made for resisting an assault. One heavy gun was mounted at each gate. At the General Hall of Audience (Dewan-i-Am) there were four guns and six ammunition tumbrils. The citadel of Selimgurh is well fortified, and guns are mounted on all sides. There is a strong muster of troops from the Cashmere Gate, extending to the Lahore Gate, and in the main streets every house is filled from top to bottom with sepoys. The Cavalry are encamped about the Bank, the Lalldiggee and the Flour Mills. There is also a large party of them in the Badshahee Musjid near the Delhee Gate. Others are scattered here and there over the city. Inside every gate there is a gun, and inside the Cashmere Gate there are four guns in position. Cannon are also mounted on the bastions round the city. The walls are manned with greater vigilance and in greater numbers than formerly. All the canal bridges inside the city are standing. The Delhee and Meeruth Regiments are in the city. The fanatics are collected in a body and ready for action.

Gouree Shunker.—I was told to ascertain particulars on three separate points, and here is my answer. Firstly, every gate of the city (13 in number) is more or less fortified, and especially the Cashmere, Cabool, Lahore and Ajmere Gates. The fire of the Cashmere and Water Bastions, and also of the Cabool Gate, has been completely silenced. The Shah Bastion

Delhi news, 10th September 1857.

is in ruins. The city wall from the Bastion to the Church is nearly levelled. The Cabool Gate has been closed with masonry. The portals only of the Lall Durwaza are closed. The Kela Ghat Gate is shut in the same manner. The wicket at the Furrash Khana is closed. The Ajmere Gate is open, but extensive preparations have been made for resisting an assault. Twelve guns are mounted at the Mudrissa of Ghazee-ood-deen Khan. Yesterday, when the assault was anticipated, two heavy guns were placed in position near the Kotwalee on the road leading from the Lahore Gate, and another gun was mounted on the roof of Lalla Hurnaraen's house. But all three were removed subsequently. At the cross roads midway between the Cashmere and Lahore Gates barricades have been constructed, and it is intended to have a battery there. Behind the Shah Bastion the rebels have erected a sandbag breastwork, and they are repairing all breaches in the city walls in the same way. Two regiments are in the Fort, of which one does duty in Salemgurh. The King's personal troops with 200 of the 9th Irregular Cavalry, who act as a body guard, are also inside the Fort. Three heavy guns are mounted at the General Hall of Audience. One heavy gun stands at the Delhee and Lahore Gates opposite the walls of the Fort. (Secondly, regarding the number and distribution of the troops.) At Colonel Skinner's house the 9th and 20th Native Infantry are stationed. Between the Cabool and Water Gates there is a detail of the 16th Native Infantry (Hoossainee). At the Church are the Police Battalion from Agra. At the Kutchery is the 38th Native Infantry and there is a regiment (number not known) at the Nigumbode. The 5th Native Infantry are at the Lahore Gate. The 11th Native Infantry is stationed at the Ajmere Gate in the Mudrissa of Ghazee-ood-deen Khan. At the Kazee's Bath and in Seeta Ram Bazaar and in the Juglee Mohulla up to the Toorookman Gate there are three regiments, *viz.*, the 3rd Native Infantry, the 61st Native Infantry and the 36th Native Infantry. In the bazaar near the Delhee Gate is the 74th Native Infantry, and five regiments occupy Durriaogunj, *viz.*, the 15th Native Infantry, the 30th Native Infantry, and three other regiments from Nusseerabad. The

4th Irregulars, the 9th Irregulars, the 6th and 7th Regular Cavalry, and Saad-ood-deen Khan's men are also in Durriaogunj. In Begum Sumroo's Garden are the 3rd Cavalry and other Hindoostanee sowars. Thirdly, all the bridges in the city up to this time are in good repair. The troops undoubtedly get more and more disheartened every day. Heera Singh, Brigade-Major of the Neemuch Force, is not to be found. The brigade says he has gone to the batteries, and the men at the batteries give out that he is with the brigade. The soldiery are selling off all cumbrous articles of plunder. Many would desert, but the gates of the city are closed and well guarded. Toolla Ram of Rewaree sent in 45,000 rupees to-day. Imdad Allee, Resaldar of Pulwul, with all his men, has left Delhee and is not to be heard of.

Delhi news, 11th September 1857.

Futteh Mohumud, 11th September.—The Cavalry suffered severely to-day. The number of wounded is immense. The 60th Native Infantry and the Sikhs fought desperately. The Neemuch Brigade gives out that they will fight to the death. All the troops will fight for their lives. They have all sworn together. The plan to-day was to make a great sortie from the Cashmere Gate, while another column got round by Kishengunj and fell upon the camp. They also talk of laying mines at the Cashmere and Cabool Gates. Some say mines are already laid at the Moree and Cabool Gates. Sooleyman Khan, Commanding one of the Bareilly Regiments, has been wounded. The shells fall harmlessly in the city. The enemy is collected in numbers round the Fort. Toolla Ram has been ordered to disturb the country about Alleepoor, when he would be supported by a column from Delhee acting on this side. The Sikhs fought well—better than the Hindoostanees, and not a day passes but some come in from the British camp and tell all the news. The Afghan Ghazees in the city go out and mix fearlessly with the Afghans in camp, and bring in all details, even to the names of officers killed and wounded, which are all published in the Delhee news.

Toorab Alli, 11th.—Great efforts are being made to get the inner batteries ready. The rebels work at night. The

sepoys of the 9th, 15th, 30th and 45th Native Infantry have agreed among themselves to make a sortie to-night. Some Sikh horsemen came to the King and declared they had taken 12 guns, and asked for the assistance of the Buchera Regiment, one of the King's personal corps. The King said that they might do as they pleased. They had already taken this regiment out once and got many of the men slaughtered. The regiment accordingly went out. A Soobadar was killed and several men. To-day the Cavalry have suffered immensely in killed and wounded. But the rebels on the whole are pleased with the ardour now displayed, and declare that if they had fought from the outset with the same spirit the affair would not have been so protracted. All traces of the English would have been swept from the page of history. At night strong guards are posted at the bridge-of-boats and upon the battlements about the Cashmere Gate. The writer begs to offer one or two suggestions. If the English wish to punish the inmates of the palace, they should, after defeating the mutineers, disarm the city and the people of the Fort. After these precautions they can do as they please. But if they include the Royal family in the punishment of the mutineers, there is every reason to fear a serious outbreak. Delhi news, 11th September 1857.

Gowree Shunkur.—There are no effective preparations for resistance as yet inside the city. Between the Cabool and Cashmere Gates they are constructing a large battery, and have been three days at work on it. It will be ready to-night. More guns have been mounted on the walls and at the city gates. The Cavalry shew better heart just now than the Infantry. The sowars of the 9th and 13th Irregulars and the 9th Regular Cavalry are always forward. They avow their intention of meeting the assault at the gate. The Infantry who try to escape are brought back by the sowars. The grandson of Doonde Khan of Kamoona is here, and goes out in the sorties. He has lost many of his retinue. Yesterday Abbas Mirza came in from Lucknow. He brought some jewels and 100 gold mohurs. He brought also a draft for one lac of rupees, which the Mahajuns of the city are unable to cash. The King has

established a mint in the Kutra Mushroo. A new rupee from this mint was brought for inspection to-day.

Delhi news, 12th September 1857.

Kulloo and Mohun, Hurkaras, 12th September—Were seized for begar at the batteries inside the city. There are breastworks inside the Cashmere Gate on both sides as you enter the city. They are made of loose stones. There is one large breastwork between the Cashmere and Cabool Gates. There are guns on the city walls. A breastwork is being made on the left hand side of the wicket leading to the river from the Kutcherry. The sepoys were talking of the Cavalry action, and said that 1,000 of their sowars had run from 150 of the Guides. 14 Light Field guns are in position behind the Church. The city people are flying to Pahareegunj. The sepoys themselves work at the inner breastworks, and guns will be placed in position there in two days. About 200 yards of the curtain near the Cashmere Gate is in ruins, and there is an effective breach. The sepoys say that if the assault is delayed for only five days more the English will never win Delhee, for large reinforcements are on the road. The soldiery are ready to fight to the last. None now desert. 300 sowars patrol near the old Eedgah. One small gun has been placed in position in the new battery to the left of the Cabool Gate. Others will follow.

Futteh Mohumud, 12th.—To-day they have erected barricades inside the Cashmere Gate, and a proclamation has been issued for every citizen to turn out and join in the fray. Some of the 3rd Cavalry made the fanatics in the Juma Musjid take part in the fight to-day. Many were killed and wounded. The sepoys inside the city are all ready to meet the assault, but they will not venture out in sorties. A man came to Mirza Moghul and offered for a reward of 2,000 rupees to inveigle the British Force into an ambuscade where they might easily be killed. So beware! At the assault measures should be taken for holding the Cashmere Gate and the Subzee Mundee, for the rebels intend to make an attack on the camp. The Koodsea Bagh Battery creates great consternation in the city.

NOTE.—The news-letters from Toorab Alli and Gowree Shunkur dated 12th September 1857 (182, page 33) also formed enclosures to letter No. 56, dated the 16th of September 1857 (187, page 51).

188. *From A. BRANDRETH, Esquire, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 57, dated Lahore, 17th September 1857.*

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner to annex copies of the telegrams of the 16th instant, which have been received, regarding operations before Delhy since my last despatch. **Telegrams of 16th September regarding operations before Delhi.**

2. The abandonment of the guns outside the city, with which the mutineers had attempted to enfilade our batteries, are significant facts. On the other hand, the attack on our position in the magazine, so shortly after its capture, is evidence that the mutineers are still in force, and have not yet given up hopes of success. The fall of the palace is doubtless the great desideratum. And measures have no doubt been taken to accomplish this object. **Importance of capture of the palace.**

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 188.

Telegram from Captain NORMAN, Assistant Adjutant-General, Delhi, to Mr. BARNES, Umballa; Colonel MACPHERSON and General GOWAN, Lahore,—dated 16th September 1857.

IT is 2 P.M., 16th September. Kishungunje has been entirely abandoned by the enemy and we have taken four 18-pounder guns and an 8-inch mortar left in position by them. Our mortars are shelling the palace from the magazine. We have now altogether captured in and before Delhi upwards of 200 guns. **Abandonment of Kishenganj by the enemy. Shelling of the palace.**

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 188.

Telegram from G. C. BARNES, Esquire, Umballa, to the Chief Commissioner, Lahore,—dated 16th September 1857.

THE Seikhs are said to be coming over in large numbers. The battery across the river opposite Selimgurh has been abandoned. The mutineers are in detached groups and are fighting from the tops of the houses. I am afraid the Cashmeree Troops have behaved badly. 3 P.M. 16th September. **Defection of Sikhs from the enemy. Conduct of Kashmir Troops.**

ENCLOSURE (3) TO 188.

Telegram from Captain NORMAN, Assistant Adjutant-General, Delhi, to Mr. BARNES, Umballa; Colonel MACPHERSON and General GOWAN, Lahore,—received 17th September 1857.

Attack made on the magazine by the mutineers repulsed.

IT is now 7 P.M., 16th September. We have now established a line of posts direct across the city from the Cabool Gate to the magazine. An attack was made on the magazine to-day which was repulsed, but we had some men killed and wounded.

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189. *From A. BRANDRETH, Esquire, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 58, dated Lahore, 18th September 1857.*

Telegrams received on 17th and 18th September 1857.

IN continuation of my daily report regarding the progress of events before Delhy, I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to annex copy of the different telegrams received yesterday and this morning.

Our losses very severe.

2. Our loss since the morning of the 14th, including the assault, appears to be very severe. No less than 62 officers and 1,095 men have been killed and wounded. The 1st Bengal Fusiliers alone are said to have lost 10 out of 17 officers.

Despatch of all available officers to Delhi.

3. The Chief Commissioner has despatched circular messages requesting Officers Commanding Stations to send down to the army every officer who can be possibly spared, and General Gowan, Commanding in the Punjab, has also issued orders to this effect. Two officers had already volunteered for the service and started for Delhy. These are Lieutenant Aikman of the 4th Native Infantry and Ensign McDonnell of the 14th. The latter is the officer who behaved so well at Jhelum, when he led the Seikhs in the attack on the Hindostanees of his regiment.

Movements of mutineers of the Rohilkhand and Neemuch Brigades.

4. It would seem probable that the mutineers of the Rohilkhund and Neemuch Brigades are about to desert Delhy. The fact that they have despatched some guns with their baggage indicates this intention. It is possible, however, that

they may wait with the view of assisting in the defence of the palace, or make an attack on our position while the troops are engaged in the assault of that place. Our army has been sadly diminished by sickness and this terrible struggle; but no means exist of reinforcing it. We have on more loyal troops to spare from the Punjab, and even if we had, they could not reach Delhy in time to render effective aid.

Effect of the protracted contest on the population of the Punjab.

5. This long protracted contest is beginning to tell on the population of the Punjab. In a late despatch I reported that an attempt had been made to plunder the hill station of Murree. This was defeated; but there seems reason to believe that the inhabitants of Huzara are to a considerable extent shaken in their loyalty.

Collection of Kharrals with a view to attacking Fatehpur Gugera.

6. On the evening of the 16th an express was received from the little station at Futtipoor Gogeirah reporting that the Khurruls, a wild and predatory race, whose chief support consists in their large herds of cattle, which roam through the wastes of the southern portion of the Rechnah Doab, had collected to the number of some thousands and intended to attack the place. Their chief had given out that he had received orders from the King of Delhy to perform this service. But plunder and the weakness of the Police Force at Futtipoor Gogeirah (a large portion of the original establishment having been drafted to serve in Hurriana with General Van Cortlandt) had probably led to this attempt.

Despatch of troops.

7. Two hundred Seikh sowars of the regiment lately raised at Lahore for service in Hindostan were at once despatched to Futtipoor Gogeirah, a distance of 75 miles. And they were followed before morning by a company of Her Majesty's 81st carried in native carriages, three Horse Artillery guns, one company of Military Police, and 50 Police Horse.

Spread of disaffection to the Kattias and Wattus.

8. The Khurruls can have but few arms, and these of the worst description, being such as they must have kept buried or concealed in the mud walls of their houses. But they can collect in large numbers, and disaffection, if successful, is contagious. In the meantime the Kuttias, another pred-

atory and pastoral race in the wilds of the Baree Doab, who are only divided from the Khurruls by the Ravee, commenced plundering. They disarmed various small bodies of Police on the Multan high road, attacked and robbed the mail cart, carried off some horses from the post houses. The Wuttoos, a third race of like character, began also to assemble on the right bank of the Sutledge.

Operations undertaken by Lieutenant Elphinstone, Officiating Deputy Commissioner, and their results.

9. *Lieutenant* Elphinstone, the Officiating Deputy Commissioner of Futtipoor Gogeirah, trusting to support from Lahore, with much promptitude and decision, determined to assume the initiative. He despatched a body of 150 newly raised levies under Mr. L. Berkeley, the Extra Assistant, attacked suddenly the chief Khurrul village, took 70 prisoners, and seized 200 head of cattle. The Seikh Horse will be at Futtipoor Gogeirah to-day, and it is to be hoped will enable Lieutenant Elphinstone to punish the Khurruls still further and attack the Kuttias. These outrages, though contemptible in their character and extent, only serve to show how necessary it is to be strong at every point, and how little can be trusted to the good faith of half-civilized races, however well treated, who cower before the strong and plunder the weak. The only very important feature in the matter is that the road to Multan, our only line of communication at present with Bombay, lies through this very district. It is, however, anticipated that security will be very soon restored.

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 189.

Telegram from General NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN, City of Delhi, to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—dated 17th September 1857.

Position at Delhi on the 17th September 1857.

SKINNER'S HOUSE, 9 A.M. We have advanced our line of posts up to the canal and on the left as far as the Bank. The palace is to be breached as soon as possible. All our mortars are to play on the palace, which will be our first point of attack. Selimgurh only fires occasionally and without effect. Our fire keeping theirs down. The report is that the Royal

family and the King's three regiments, one regiment of Native Infantry and some Light Cavalry troopers hold the palace, and intend to fight it out to the last. The mutineers are less active to-day. The Bareilly and Neemuch Troops are said to have come into the town and have started off their baggage under an escort of Infantry and guns down to the Muttra road towards Gwalior. They intend to follow them by forced marches when they have had a fair start. The townspeople continue to fly to the palace, and numberless women have come into our camp. Our troops, as might be expected, have lost somewhat of their discipline, scattered about as they have been, plundering and getting drunk. They are now, however, returning to order. We do not know of our exact loss, but it is heavier than was first expected, and with the troops so scattered about there is great difficulty in getting returns of any killed. No attempt will be made to occupy the whole town until the palace and Selimgurh are taken. Our strength is not sufficient. It would require at least 5,000 more men to do it properly. The magazine is full of stores of every description except powder, and notwithstanding the enormous quantity that they have expended during the last three months, no impression appears to have been made on the huge piles still left. The guns have all been brought in from Kishungunj, which has been totally evacuated by the mutineers. Brigadier-General Nicholson is a little better. Sick and wounded doing pretty well.

Position at Delhi on the 17th September.

Condition of Brigadier-General Nicholson.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 189.

Telegram from the Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army, Dehli, to Mr. BARNES, Umballa; Colonel MACPHERSON and General GOWAN, Lahore,—dated 17th September 1857.

IT is 10 A.M., 17th September. Early this morning we took possession of the Bank-house and hold the portion of the city between it and the magazine. Skirmishing has been going on near the Bank, but we are fast established there. Our guns command the bridge and Selimgurh entirely, and

Position at 10 A.M. on the 17th September. Shelling of the palace and Selimgarh.

the palace and Selimgurh are under a constant fire of shells. The enemy are flying in bodies of 1 or 2 hundred men towards Gwalior *viâ* Muttra. The property of every kind left in the city is immense. All the streets we occupy have been abandoned by the inhabitants. The number of dead sepoys in every quarter is very great.

ENCLOSURE (3) TO 189.

Telegram from Brigadier-General NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN, *Skinner's house, Delhi, to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—dated 17th September 1857, 6* P. M.

Position at 6 P. M. on the 17th September. Shelling of palace. Flight of inhabitants. Return of killed and wounded.

OUR position is the same as this morning. The Mortar Battery has been keeping up a heavy and continued fire throughout the day and will do so throughout the night. The magazine does not afford a position from which to batter the palace, nor is any place in our possession from which the work can be properly done. The Chief Engineer and every body here is just as anxious as you are to effect this great object; so do not suppose that we are not inclined to go ahead. The King is reported to be in the palace still; if so, his residence must be a very warm one, for we are pelting shells throughout the length of the palace enclosure from north to south. Great number of women and inhabitants of the city have come in and been passed out of the town by us, and the look-out at Hindoo Rao's house reports streams of people and animals as having issued from the Ajmere Gate. I send you the return of the killed and wounded as near as we have been able to get, but I fear it is not quite correct. Europeans *killed*—Artillery officers none, men 2. Engineer officers 1, men 1. European Cavalry officers none, men 1. Infantry officers 7, men 158. *Wounded*—Artillery officers 2, men 29. Engineer officers 9, men 3. European Cavalry officers 3, men 37. European Infantry officers 38, men 401. Natives *killed*—Artillery officers none, men 3. Engineer officers none, men 2. Cavalry officers 1, men none. Infantry officers 1,

men 38. *Wounded*—Artillery officers 1, men none. Engineer officers 1, men 6. Cavalry officers none, men 8. Infantry officers 3, men 287. *Missing*—Europeans 10. *Grand total*—officers 8, men 275 *killed*. *Wounded*—officers 52, men 820. I will send you a correct return of guns captured in the magazine and on the works to-morrow. It has not yet been received.

ENCLOSURE (4) TO 189.

Telegram from Captain NORMAN, *Assistant Adjutant-General, Delhi, to Mr.* BARNES, *Umballa ; Colonel* MACPHERSON *and General* GOWAN, *Lahore,—dated 18th September 1857.*

IT is 8 A.M., 18th September. Lieutenant Phillips, 11th Native Infantry, attached to 60th Rifles, was killed in a skirmish yesterday. Lieutenant Briscoe, 75th Foot, was killed this morning. Our mortars have been firing throughout the night and must have inflicted damage within the palace.

Position on the 18th September.

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190. *From A.* BRANDRETH, *Esquire, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F.* EDMONSTONE, *Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 59, dated Lahore, 19th September 1857.*

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner to submit, for the information of the Supreme Government, copy of the telegrams received from Delhy since the despatch of my last letter No. 58.

Telegrams from Delhi.

2. Brigadier-General Cotton has ordered 19 officers from Peshawur and Rawulpindee to join the army. This makes 21 in all who have as yet been made available ; and doubtless a good many more will be forthcoming.

Despatch of officers to Delhi.

3. There is no news worthy of report from Futtehpoor Gogeirah to-day. The Deputy Commissioner has taken measures for the re-opening of the postal communication between this and Multan, which had been interrupted.

Re-opening of postal communication between Lahore and Multán.

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 190.

Telegram from Brigadier-General NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN, Delhi, to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—dated 18th September 1857.

Position at 2 P.M. on 18th September.

SKINNER'S HOUSE, 18th September, 2 P.M. Our position is the same as last reported. We are strengthening ourselves at the Bank, and the Sappers are working towards the houses which command the Burn Bastion. No suitable place has yet been found from which to breach the palace. We continue to shell. Selimgurh has only fired a few shots to-day and does no harm. Few people have crossed the bridge. No townspeople have come in to us to-day, nor have we received any information as yet as to the movements of the rebels. Yesterday the Delhi Gate of the palace was said to be open and covered carts passing out from it. No certain intelligence as to the King and his family. Our attempt on the Lahore Gate this morning was not successful. The following guns and pieces of ordnance have been taken:—On the works and in use by the enemy, 35; in the magazine 171,—total 206. Immense stores of shot and ball, but very little powder. Large quantities of percussion caps. The whole of the buildings of the magazine remain uninjured excepting that part which was blown up by the explosion. The troops are returning to usual state of discipline. No increase of sickness in camp. The report of poor Nicholson to-day is not favorable. His brother Lieutenant Nicholson is doing well. We had a fall of rain since the eclipse, which has made it nice and cool and good for the wounded. The General is a good deal knocked up from anxiety and fatigue, but rest is all he requires.

Absence of reliable information regarding the King and his family. Attempt on Lahore Gate unsuccessful. Number of guns taken.

Condition of Nicholson unfavourable.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 190.

Telegram from the Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army, Delhi, to Mr. BARNES, Umballa; Colonel MACPHERSON and General GOWAN, Lahore,—dated 18th September 1857.

Casaulties.

THE report sent of the death of Captain Rosser, Carbineers, was incorrect, but was dangerously wounded. Lieutenants Pogson and Webb, 8th Foot, have died of wounds.

191. *From A. BRANDRETH, Esquire, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 60, dated Lahore, 21st September 1857.*

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner, in continuation of my last despatch,* to submit, for the information of the Supreme Government, copy of the various telegrams which have been subsequently received from the Army before Delhy. **Telegrams received from the Army before Delhi.**

*No. 59, dated 19th instant (190, page 63).

2. The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council will perceive that the defeat of the mutineers has been completed. The palace, the Fort of Selimgurh, and the remaining gates of the city of Delhy, which were not seized in the first assault, have now all fallen; and the mutineers appear to be in full retreat down the right bank of the Jumna. The news of our success has been sent all over the country. Salutes have been ordered to be fired. The effect on the native mind will no doubt be great. Among our enemies it must strike terror and tend to convince them in the strongest manner of our resources. The more general was the belief of our approaching ruin, the greater will no doubt be the reaction. It may fairly be affirmed that, provided reinforcements arrive soon from England, our moral influence and the strength which is derived from the belief in our prestige will within a few months be more powerful than ever. **Defeat of mutineers complete.** **Publication of news of the victory and firing of salutes. Effect of the victory on the native mind.**

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 191.

Telegram from Brigadier-General NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN, Delhi, to Mr. BARNES, Umballa; Major-General GOWAN and Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, Lahore,—dated 19th September 1857, 9 A.M.

OUR Mortar Battery continued to fire during the night towards the south of the palace and in the direction of Durriaogunje. We have now turned in the direction of the Jumma Musjid and the neighbouring mohullahs, as they have not been subjected to our fire. Abbott's house was occupied at dawn without opposition and our advanced picquet is now at Khan Mahomed Khan's house. We are securing ourselves in that position preparatory to going to the palace. On our right the **Position at 9 A.M. on 19th September.**

Sappers have worked about 300 yards through the houses and are getting opposite the Burn Bastion, and once we take the gun on it we shall have the Lahore Gate. Selimgurh has not fired at all this morning. Parties of armed men and townspeople have been seen crossing the bridge, and the report is that the town is being completely evacuated by the population. The report still is that the King is gone to the old fort, and that the palace is being emptied. We shall push on a small party during the day to ascertain whether this is the case, and, if so, at once seize the gateway. All our Cavalry sent out this morning under Brigadier Grant to reconnoitre the western and southern faces of the town, and it is hoped that this demonstration will hurry their evacuation of the town. I hear that messages sent from this through Jullundur are considered at that station as public property and communicated to every body by the signaller there. This is highly irregular and should be checked at once. I beg you will have attention paid to this matter, and if the signallers cannot be trusted have the office removed to Major Lake's house. The authorities are the only persons to determine what should and what should not be made public and no latitude given to signallers.

Movements of the King.

Despatch of Cavalry to reconnoitre.

Leakage of news at Jullundur.

N. B.—Delayed owing to the Delhi signals being hardly perceptible.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 191.

Telegram from Brigadier-General NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN, *Delhi, to Sir* JOHN LAWRENCE, *Lahore; Major* LAKE, *Jullundhur; Mr.* BARNES, *Umballa; and Colonel* MACPHERSON,—*dated 19th September 1857, 7 P.M.*

Position at 7 P. M. on the 19th September.

WE have not yet got the Burn Bastion. On the left we are strengthening our position preparatory to bringing up our mortars and heavy guns. The palace has not been abandoned by the mutineers as stated by the spies. They have a field piece behind a breastwork in front of Chandnee Chouk gateway of the palace, from which they fire on the Bank, &c., but without much effect. The King and Royal family reported having left the palace is still doubtful. More of the mutineers have fled their colours and have taken the Muttra road. We have

Movements of the King and Royal family.

had hardly any casualties to-day. Brigadier-General Nicholson was easier to-day, but no real improvement has taken place. Mr. Greathed has cholera. Sir T. Metcalfe has had a slight attack. The weather has been unsettled all day with heavy showers. Our sick and wounded are doing well.

Condition of Nicholson. Illness of Mr. Greathed and Sir T. Metcalfe.

ENCLOSURE (3) TO 191.

Telegram from Brigadier-General NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN, *Delhi City, to Chief Commissioner, Lahore; Mr.* BARNES, *Umballa; and Major* LAKE, *Jullundhur,—dated 20th September 1857.*

20TH SEPTEMBER, 9 A.M. The Burn Bastion was assaulted yesterday evening and six guns and one mortar captured without loss. Lahore gateway has been occupied this evening. The Ajmere Gate and outworks do not fire; they appear deserted; and our people are going on to take possession. The townspeople are all leaving the city. The mutineers blew up a magazine in their camp this morning and our Cavalry patrols who moved round towards southern face of the town report that they saw nobody in the camp. We hope to establish our line along the Chandnee Chouk in the course of the day. The mutineers offering much less resistance and are evidently decreasing in numbers. The whereabouts of the King and Royal family still unknown.

Capture of the Burn Bastion and Lahore Gate. Departure of townspeople.

Whereabouts of the Royal family unknown.

ENCLOSURE (4) TO 191.

Telegram from Brigadier-General NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN, *Delhi City; to Mr.* BARNES, *Umballa; Major* LAKE, *Jullundhur; Chief Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore,—dated 20th September 1857.*

SKINNER'S HOUSE. It is now 10 A.M., 20th September. We have taken the Ajmere Gate and outworks without opposition and securing three heavy guns and one 8-inch howitzer. We are sending up heavy mortars to the Burn Bastion to shell the portion of the town not yet in our possession. A continuous mortar fire was kept up on the town throughout last night.

Position at 10 A.M. on 20th September.

On our left we hold the same position as last evening, but we have just spiked the mutineers' gun in front of the palace. We are going to form a column to go into the palace.

ENCLOSURE (5) TO 191.

Telegram from Brigadier-General NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN, Delhi City, to Chief Commissioner, Lahore; Mr. BARNES, Umballa; and Major LAKE, Jullundhur,—dated 20th September 1857.

Capture of the palace, Jama Masjid and Ajmer Gate.

SKINNER'S HOUSE, 20th September, noon. We have possession of the palace, Jumma Musjid and Ajmere Gate. Seven guns were found at the gateway of the palace.

ENCLOSURE (6) TO 191.

Telegram from Brigadier-General NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN, Delhi, to Mr. BARNES, Umballa; Chief Commissioner, Lahore; and Major LAKE, Jullundhur,—received 21st September 1857.

Capture of Selimgarh.

TWO P.M., 20th September 1857. We now have Selimgurh and the bridge. I hope to be able to report shortly that we are in possession of the Toorkman and Delhi Gates and Bastions and entirely masters of the whole town.

ENCLOSURE (7) TO 191.

Telegram from Brigadier-General NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN, Delhi City, to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore; Mr. BARNES, Umballa; and Major LAKE, Jullundhur,—received 21st September 1857.

Delhi completely in our possession. Whereabouts of the King and Royal family.

20TH SEPTEMBER 1857, 5 P.M. Our struggle has ended here. We have possession of the whole city, the Palace, Selimgurh and the bridge. Number of guns taken in the town and Delhi Bastions unknown. Our loss to-day is trifling. The King and Royal family are said to be in a village 4 coss from this towards the Kootub.

192. *From A. BRANDRETH, Esquire, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 61, dated Lahore, 23rd September 1857.*

Death of Mr. H. Greathed, Commissioner of Delhi. Assumption of temporary charge by Mr. C. B. Saunders.

From C. B. Saunders, Esquire, 20th September 1857.
From Brigadier Chamberlain, 22nd September 1857.

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner to submit, for the information and orders of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, copy of the telegrams marginally noted, reporting the sad intelligence of the death of Mr. H. Greathed, the Commissioner of Delhy, and the arrangements which have been made as a temporary measure consequent on that event. Pending the orders of the Supreme Government and an expression of the wishes of Mr. Reade, who has assumed charge of the Government of the North-Western Provinces, the Chief Commissioner will continue to assist Mr. C. Saunders in the administration of the Delhy territory.

Suggestions of Sir John Lawrence for the administration of the Delhi Division.

2. Out of the six districts which compose that Division, the southern (Goorgaon) has hitherto been in the hands of the insurgents. Hissar and Sirsah have been re-conquered and managed by General Van Cortlandt by the aid of Irregular Levies despatched from the Punjab. General Van Cortlandt was entrusted with the Military and Civil control in the Hissar District, and Sirsah is managed by Mr. Oliver, the Assistant Superintendent of Sirsah, under the supervision of Major Marsden, the Deputy Commissioner of the adjacent district of Ferozepoor, who has also been given the Sirsah District, vested with the powers of a Commissioner.

3. Rohtuck, the centre district of the Delhy Division, was also in a state of rebellion. Now that the city of Delhy has fallen and the mutineers expelled, its recovery will be an easy task, and the Chief Commissioner has already suggested to General Wilson what should be done. Directly this has been effected the Commissioner of Delhy will resume his control.

4. There remain the two districts of Paneeput and Delhy itself, in which it will probably be a simple task to reorganize the administration. The former has been partially managed by

Suggestions for the administration of the Delhi Division.

the Judge of the district, Mr. LeBas. In both districts the greater portion of the revenue for the past year has been paid. And what is now chiefly necessary is the reorganization of an effective Police.

5. Besides the Civil duties of the Division there are the political relations with various Chiefs, such as the Raja of Bullubgurh, the Nawabs of Jhujjur and Dadree, the petty Chiefs of Patoudi, Furrucknuggur and the Istumrardars of Rewaree, all of whom have been more or less implicated in the rebellion, and all of whom will require prompt attention. The khas lands of the King of Delhy will also be added to the Civil jurisdiction.

6. As circumstances have led the Chief Commissioner to assume the supervision of the Delhy Division, he considers it his duty to suggest that the Judicial and Revenue Departments, as in the Punjab, be combined, and that instead of a Commissioner and a Judge, two Commissioners be appointed, and that each District Officer be Judge, Collector and Magistrate. It will involve no extra expense to Government, and will greatly contribute to the reorganization of the administration. The Chief Commissioner himself is persuaded that there is no one measure which would so materially conduce to the popularity of our rule as this.

Irrespective of the arguments founded on actual experience which may be advanced for such an arrangement, the Chief Commissioner would remark that it is physically impossible that one officer, however able and energetic, can really supervise the Police and fiscal management of a country extending from the banks of the Jumna to those of the Sutledge ; still less that a single Judge can do the criminal and civil judicial duties of such a tract. A first rate officer will fail to perform such tasks, while an ordinary one will not attempt it, and so the country will be left to manage itself. Lastly, this would appear of all other times the best for such a change, when the calamities and misfortunes through which men have passed may be supposed to have swept away prejudice, and prepared them for changes which have proved beneficial in other places.

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 192.

Telegram from C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Delhi, to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—dated 20th September 1857.

WITH great regret I have to report that Mr. Greathed died at 12 last night from cholera. At his request and with the concurrence of the General Commanding, I have assumed charge of his duties, as being the senior Civilian with the force, pending the receipt of your instructions or those of the Government of the North-Western Provinces. The news of Mr. Greathed's death had better be suppressed for a day or two to prevent the news reaching his wife at Meerut in the first instance through the public prints. Sir T. Metcalfe has also been attacked with cholera, but he is better, and will I hope recover. The Burn Bastion fell into our hands yesterday evening, I believe with little or no opposition. The Lahore Gate, which it entirely commands, will, it is speculated, be taken possession of immediately.

Death of Mr. H. Greathed, Commissioner and Agent, Delhi. Assumption of charge by Mr. C. B. Saunders.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 192.

Telegram from Brig. General NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN, Delhi, to the Chief Comr., Punjab, Lahore; Mr. BARNES, Umballa; and Major LAKE, Jullundhur,—received 22nd Septr. 1857.

SKINNER'S HOUSE, 21st September 1857. There is little to report. Not the sign of a mutineer. They abandoned their camp outside the Ajmere Gate, in the hurry leaving all sick and wounded who could not walk, their drums, band instruments, clothing, bedding, cooking pots, &c., and all luxuries. The report is that a number of them are collecting at Bullubgurh, some talking of going to Lucknow, some to Gwalior. Cholera has shown itself in the town. We are busy having the dead bodies and carcasses removed. The stench in some places is unbearable. The troops are being restored to order. Hopes are entertained of the King surrendering himself. I think that no time should be lost in taking possession of Rohtuck, and that a good Civil officer should be sent there to take charge of district. The people will, I believe, readily return to their allegiance under the terms of Government proclamation. Unless the Punjab Government takes this in hand nothing will be done. General Nicholson is slightly better.

Position at Delhi on 21st September 1857.

Prevalence of cholera.

Return of troops to order.

Hopes of surrender of King.

Management of Rohtak.

Condition of Nicholson.

193. *From A. BRANDRETH, Esquire, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 62, dated Lahore, 23rd September 1857.*

Telegrams from Delhi.

I AM directed to annex, for the information of the Supreme Government, copies of the various telegrams which have been received from the Army before Delhy since the date of my last despatch,* as well as of the Chief Commissioner's replies. It will be seen that our success has been completed by the capture of the King of Delhy and the death of two of his sons, who appear to have been killed in a struggle with Lieutenant Hodson.

*No. 60, dated 21st September (191, page 65).

Capture of King and death of two of his sons.

Opinion of Sir John Lawrence regarding the utilization of the palace at Delhi.

2. The palace at Delhy from its size, strength and peculiar position appears to the Chief Commissioner admirably adapted for a magazine. With very little additions and alterations the palace might also be converted into a strong fort capable of overawing the town, and therefore of preventing any chance of an émeute, such as may at any time occur when large numbers of Mahomedans are brought together.

Vigorous and prompt action in following up and destroying mutineers suggested.

3. But whatever may be the decision of Government on this point, the matter may, in the Chief Commissioner's judgment, well lie over for the present. The great object, after providing for the sick and wounded, and for the munitions of war now at Delhy, appears to be to follow up and destroy the mutineers if possible, and to restore our administration in the upper part of Hindostan. And these latter objects can only be gained by vigorous and prompt action.

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 193.

Telegram from Brigadier NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN, Dehlee, to Chief Commissioner, Lahore; Mr. BARNES, Umballa; and Major LAKE, Jullundhur,—dated 22nd September 1857.

Return of troops to order. Capture of the King by Captain Hodson.

EVERYTHING is quiet. The troops have returned to order. The King has been brought in by Captain Hodson. He came in a palkee with a few Guides sowars attended by a single Hubshee this morning. Is said to have been instrumental in the murder of our people, and has been placed in confinement.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 193.

Telegram from Adjutant-General, Dehlee, to Chief Commissioner, Lahore; Mr. BARNES, Umballa; Major LAKE, Jullundhur; and Lord W. HAY, Simla,—dated 23rd September 1857.

Shooting of King's two sons and grandson by Hodson.

CAPTAIN HODSON has just returned from "Hoomayun's" Tomb and reports having killed the King's two sons, "Mirza Mogul" and "Mirza Khizar Sooltan," and his grandson "Mirza Aboobukur." A quantity of the arms of the King's late attendants, the King's personal elephants, carriages and horses have been taken. No opposition was offered.

ENCLOSURE (3) TO 193.

Telegram from G. C. BARNES, Esquire, Umballa, to Chief Commissioner, Lahore,—dated 22nd September 1857, 8 P. M.

King taken near the Kutab.

Papers found in the palace.

THE King was taken near the "Kootub" and four guns were found there also. Hodson came on them (*sic*) with 30 sowars. I have a copy of the Dehlee news as given to the King, and some papers affecting residents of Umballa, found in the palace.

ENCLOSURE (4) TO 193.

Telegram from Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. C. BARNES, Esquire, Umballa,—dated Lahore, 22nd September 1857.

Views of Sir John Lawrence regarding the disposal of the King and enquiry into his conduct.

I WOULD not send the King up this way. I would keep him at Dehlie, and send him to Meerutt when troops move across. His being in our possession would be useful. Now 3 P. M.

NOTE.—This is in reply to a proposal by Mr. Barnes to bring the King up to Umballa or Ferozepore (*vide* enclosure 5 to 198, page 104).

ENCLOSURE (5) TO 193.

Telegram from Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to General A. WILSON, Dehlie,—dated Lahore, 23rd September 1857.

I AM inclined to think that it would be well to convene a court comprised of well selected officers, to enquire and place

on record such evidence as may be forthcoming regarding the guilt or innocence of the King of Dehlie. It is 3 P. M.

ENCLOSURE (6) TO 193.

Telegram from Major-General A. WILSON, Delhi, to Chief Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore,—dated 21st September 1857.

Question of disposal of the palace: views of General Wilson.

I WISH for your advice as to what I am to do with the palace and city of Delhi. The whole of the inhabitants left it. I have 3,300 sick and wounded, immense munitions of war. My own opinion of the best policy to be pursued is to hold the city walls until I can transport the whole of my sick and wounded, the recaptured guns and munitions to Meerut, then to blow up the several bastions and portions of the palace, and to take my force to act in the Jungle* Doab. This will however from want of carriage occupy a long period of time. A speedy answer is required.

*Jumna Doab possibly.

ENCLOSURE (7) TO 193.

Telegram from Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to General A. WILSON, Delhy,—dated 22nd September 1857.

Views of Sir John Lawrence.

IT is 1 A. M. I have just received your message. The Palace at Delhy would make a splendid and safe magazine which a small body of troops could hold securely. You must leave some troops at Delhy; those you do leave could hardly in my mind be better placed than in the Palace. In it you could place all your guns and munitions of war at once, as well as such of your sick as it is not expedient to move. The transport of them to Merutt would take much time, and require more carriage than is available. The occupation of the palace would do as much good politically as its destruction. I would not destroy anything pending the orders of Government. We can always destroy. We cannot so easily construct. It will take years to build such a magazine. As to your troops, it will depend on the number of effective men available. Supposing 12,000 to

be effective with contingents send 5,000 good troops to pursue the mutineers and 2,000 to help to clear the Gangetic Doab. The rest will keep Delhy and recover our hold over the adjacent districts. More by post.

Enclosure (8) to 193.

From A. Brandreth, Esquire, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to General A. Wilson, Delhy,—dated 22nd September 1857.

I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to annex copy of his telegram of this day's date, in reply to yours of yesterday, regarding the best measures for adoption in your present position at Delhy, and to reply as follows.

Suggestions of Sir John Lawrence for the utilization of the palace at Delhi and the prosecution of the campaign against the mutineers.

2. It appears to the Chief Commissioner that the main objects for consideration are, 1st, the care of our sick and wounded and of the munitions of war; 2ndly, the secure possession of the city and palace of Delhy; and 3rdly, the vigorous prosecution of the war.

3. All these objects the Chief Commissioner considers would be best attained by occupying the palace at Delhy. Though it cannot be considered in the light of a fortified place, it is very strong, and indeed nearly impregnable against any force which insurgents and mutineers, not in possession of a siege train, could bring against it. It would form an admirable depôt for such of the sick who cannot be moved, and for all the captured stores. A force of 3 or 4,000 men in possession of the Palace could spare a large proportion of their numbers to take the field against an enemy in the adjacent country. Without the palace such a force would be confined to defensive arrangements. So long as we hold the palace in its present state, no enemy will attempt to enter the city, or even if they should do so—a most improbable contingency—could they do any harm. We should of course withdraw all the guns from the walls. In the meantime the Commissioner could organize a Police with which to manage the district.

Suggestions of Sir John Lawrence for the utilization of the palace at Delhi and the prosecution of the campaign against the mutineers.

4. If, on the other hand, we dismantle the palace, we must keep the army together to guard the sick and munitions of war and lose valuable time. It would take weeks before all these could be transported to Merutt. And even then we must leave troops in Delhy, who without the advantage of the palace would not be available for offensive operations; at any rate to the same extent as at present. The palace, as it stands, appears to the Chief Commissioner to be worth at least 1,000 men to us.

5. All the political objects to be gained by the destruction of the palace are equally secured by its occupation.

6. It would take several years for our Engineers to construct an arsenal which would prove equally useful as the palace at Delhy. If Government, however, think otherwise, at least build the one before you destroy the other. The Chief Commissioner considers that it was a mistake dismantling the fort at Multan until we had built one to contain our stores. Though eight years since annexation have passed by, the very foundations of the new fort have not been commenced; and so it was that, when the insurrection broke out, we had actually to reconstruct walls which we had pulled down, or at any rate to erect insufficient substitutes for them.

7. Again as to the third point, the vigorous prosecution of the war. If the course now advocated be followed, a considerable portion of the army might at once be detached from Delhy. All might be made safe there by that part which remains in a week. It seems of the highest importance to follow the main body of the mutineers; to prevent them rallying, collecting fugitives and plundering the country.

8. If they have gone down the right bank of the Jumna, they will probably be overtaken before they can cross the Jumna or the Chumbul, even though they have some days' start. And if they have crossed the latter river, by taking up a position at Agra, we shall overawe the mutineers at Gwalior and help to re-establish order in Agra and Muttra. In this case a small body of troops, in addition to those at Merutt, will

suffice to clear and subdue the Upper Gangetic Doab, *i.e.*, Suharunpoor, Muzuffurnuggur, Merutt, Bulundshuhur, Alighur and Mynpoory.

Suggestions for the prosecution of the campaign against the mutineers.

9. If, on the other hand, the main body of the insurgents has crossed at once into the Gangetic Doab, they will doubtless make for Rohilkhund and Oude, probably *viâ* Futtehghur. In either case, it is important to drive them across the Ganges and re-establish order in the Gangetic Doab. This force could subsequently act according to circumstances, and join General Havelock or move into Rohilkhund. But all these objects will be delayed and be eventually rendered more difficult of accomplishment if we keep the army at Delhy, which it seems we must do if we dismantle the palace and engage in transporting thousands of sick people and immense quantities of munitions of war to Merutt.

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194. *From G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, K.C.B., Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 3981, dated Fort William, 23rd September 1857 (received 27th October 1857).*

Satisfaction of Government at the success of the operations against the Yusafzai rebels.

I HAVE received, and laid before the Governor-General in Council, your Officiating Secretary's despatch dated the 17th August, No. 40* reporting operations against the Eusofzie rebels, and am directed in reply to express His Lordship in Council's satisfaction with the admirable way in which the duty entrusted to them has been accomplished.

*155 (Part I, page 354).

Commendation of Captain James, Major Vaughan and Lieutenants Horne and Hoste.

2. You are requested to convey to Captain James, the Deputy Commissioner, to Major Vaughan, Commanding the 3rd Punjab Infantry, and to Lieutenants Horne and Hoste the thanks of the Governor-General in Council for the excellent service which they have rendered in the course of these operations. These acknowledgments are specially due to Captain James for his able, zealous and judicious co-operation with the Military officers, and to Major Vaughan for the discretion with

which all his arrangements were made and the vigour with which they were carried into execution.

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195. *Telegram from the Adjutant-General of the Army, Delhi, to the Chief Commissioner, Lahore,—dated Delhi, 23rd September 1857.*

Death of Brigadier-General Nicholson.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL NICHOLSON expired at 10½ A. M. this day of the wounds received on the morning of the assault. In him the Bengal Army has deeply to deplore the loss of one of its noblest and bravest soldiers.

CHAPTER VI.

OCTOBER 1857.

Gazette Extraordinary regarding the fall of Delhi—Insurrection in Gugera—Émeute in 9th Cavalry (sent back from Delhi) at Kálábágh—Sir John Lawrence's estimate of Nicholson's services—Curious documents found in the palace at Delhi—Discussion as to the best mode of dealing with the fortifications of the city and palace of Delhi—Kharitas to Native Chiefs announcing the retaking of Delhi—Question of the future occupation of the Peshâwar Valley—Operations of Jammu Troops on the day of the assault of Delhi—Acknowledgment of services of Messrs. Barnes and Ricketts—Question of disposal of Native officers and men of Bengal Army returning from leave—Operations of Movable Column under Colonel Greathed—Sudden attack by rebels at Agra and their defeat.

196. The Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary.

Published by Authority.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1857.

No. 1237 of 1857.

FORT WILLIAM, 2ND OCTOBER 1857.

Notification.

THE Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council has received, by a Telegraphic Message, the gratifying announcement that Delhi is entirely in the hands of Major-General Wilson's Army. Notification regarding the fall of Delhi.

Fall of Delhi.

Delhi, the focus of the treason and revolt which for four months have harassed Hindostan, and the stronghold in which the Mutinous Army of Bengal has sought to concentrate its power, has been wrested from the Rebels. The King is a Prisoner in the Palace. The Head-Quarters of Major-General Wilson are established in the Dewan Khas. A strong column is in pursuit of the fugitives.

Whatever may be the motives and passions by which the Mutinous Soldiery, and those who are leagued with them, have been instigated to faithlessness, rebellion, and crimes at which the heart sickens, it is certain that they have found encouragement in the delusive belief that India was weakly guarded by England, and that before the Government could gather together its strength against them their ends would be gained.

They are now undeceived.

Before a single Soldier of the many thousands who are hastening from England to uphold the supremacy of the British Power has set foot on these shores, the Rebel Force, where it was strongest and most united, and where it had the command of unbounded Military appliances, has been destroyed or scattered by an Army collected within the limits of the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab alone.

The work has been done before the support of those Battalions which have been collected in Bengal from the Forces of the Queen in China and in Her Majesty's Eastern Colonies could reach Major-General Wilson's Army; and it is by the courage and endurance of that gallant Army alone; by the skill, sound judgment, and steady resolution of its brave Commander; and by the aid of some Native Chiefs true to their allegiance that, under the blessing of God, the head of rebellion has been crushed, and the cause of loyalty, humanity, and rightful authority vindicated.

The Governor-General in Council hopes that the receipt of despatches from Major-General Wilson will soon place it in his power to make known the details of the operations against Delhi, and to record, fully and publicly, the thanks and com-

mendation which are due to the Officers and Men by whose guidance, courage and exertions those operations have been brought to a successful issue.

Acknowledgment of services of officers and men and especially of Sir John Lawrence.

But the Governor-General in Council will not postpone, till then, his grateful acknowledgment of the services which have been rendered to the Empire, at this juncture, by the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab.

To Sir John Lawrence, K.C.B., it is owing that the Army before Delhi, long ago cut off from all direct support from the Lower Provinces, has been constantly reunited and strengthened so effectually as to enable its Commander not only to hold his position unshaken, but to achieve complete success.

To Sir John Lawrence's unceasing vigilance, and to his energetic and judicious employment of the trustworthy forces at his own disposal, it is due that Major-General Wilson's Army has not been harassed or threatened on the side of the Punjab, and that the authority of the Government in the Punjab itself has been sustained and generally respected.

The Governor-General in Council seizes, with pleasure, the earliest opportunity of testifying his high appreciation of these great and timely services.

By Order of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council,

R. J. H. BIRCH, COLONEL,

Secretary to the Government of India in the Military Department.

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197. *From G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, K.C.B., Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 4089, dated Fort William, 2nd October 1857 (received 9th November 1857.)*

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Officiating Secretary's letter dated the 21st August last, No. 42,* reporting that the country has been remarkably tranquil and the

*161 (Part I, page 408).

public revenue for the late harvest has been realized as punctually as formerly, and that the arrears are stated to be even less this year than usual.

Satisfaction of Government at the news of tranquillity in the Punjab.

2. In reply, I am directed to acquaint you that the Governor-General in Council considers the above statement very satisfactory and in the highest degree creditable to the Local Administration of the Province. It is one of the proofs that can be offered of the loyalty and good feeling of the people of the Punjab.

and the submission of the Kuki Khel Afridis.

3. His Lordship in Council desires me to express the satisfaction of Government with your report respecting the Kookee Khail Afreedees as contained in paragraph 4 of the letter under acknowledgment.

Conduct of Brigadier Innes in connection with the mutiny at Ferozepore.

4. A copy of paragraph 6 of your despatch and of its enclosures, respecting the mutiny of the 10th Light Cavalry at Ferozepore and the conduct of Brigadier Innes in connection therewith, has been sent to the Military Department for consideration and orders. His Lordship in Council approves of your letter to General Gowan on the subject of this outbreak.

5. Copies of paragraphs 9 and 10 of your letter have also been sent to the Military Department for information.

Despatch of European Troops from Calcutta to Allahabad and Cawnpore to clear the Gangetic Doáb.

6. His Lordship in Council agrees with you in opinion that if troops be sent across the Ganges they must be sufficient for any work before them; and he likewise concurs in your opinion that after the Army before Delhi is provided for, the Gangetic Doab from Meerut to Cawnpore, the line of all our communications should be regarded. But it seems to His Lordship in Council probable that for the recovery of the Doab, and the securing of the line of communication, *we shall have to* depend mainly upon the European Force which may be sent up from the Presidency. It is greatly to be feared that the Army of Delhi, after the labors of the siege shall be over and the immediate excitement shall have passed away, will, like all armies under like circumstances, suffer severely from sickness; and the Governor-General in Council is prepared to find that the Army of Delhi, when its own chief work has been accomplished, will be equal to little more than securing Meerut and the country

about Delhi. Accordingly European Regiments have been pressed forward from Calcutta to Allahabad and Cawnpore with the utmost expedition.

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198. *From A. BRANDRETH, Esquire, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 63, dated Lahore, 3rd October 1857.*

SINCE my last despatch (No. 60)* which brought down the narrative of events to the 21st ultimo, the tranquillity which we had hitherto enjoyed has been somewhat disturbed. Delhie was successfully assaulted on the 14th ultimo and on the 20th was completely in our possession, and the mutineers in full retreat.

*191 (page 65).

2. On the 14th ultimo the pastoral and predatory clans of Mahomedans who occupy the extensive wastes south of Googaira and about 80 miles from Lahore, which stretch from the right bank of the Sutledge across the Doab, and for some 12 or 15 miles beyond the Ravee, broke out. These clans can muster some 20 to 30,000 men, and occupy a tract of country in the Googaira District of full 40 to 50 miles in breadth, and from 70 to 80 in length. They have few villages, and generally reside in temporary grass huts, which are constructed in such localities as afford the best pasturage and water for their numerous herds of cattle. They are known under the denomination of Khurruls, Khattias, Wattoos, Fatwanas, and other names, and are of Jat lineage. Insurrection in the Gugera District.

3. The insurgents appear to have broken out almost simultaneously. They had few arms; those which they did possess had probably been obtained from the Bhawulpoor territory and Ferozepoor District, where the people had not been disarmed. They surprised the scattered Police posts in the wastes, and along the Multan road, disarmed the Police, intercepted the postal communications, and levied contributions from the small towns of Huruppa and Kote Kummalia. Proceedings of the rebels.

4. The information only reached Lahore on the evening of the 16th, and within four hours afterwards 200 men of the Despatch of a force against them.

Insurrection in the Gugera District.

new regiment of Seikh Horse were despatched to Googaira. Before daylight 1 company of European Infantry, 3 Horse Artillery guns and 150 of the Military Police, all the force that could be spared from Lahore, followed. They reached Googaira on the third morning, just in time to save the station, which was attacked at noon the same day. The insurgents were repulsed, and had they been vigorously pursued would have suffered much. As it was, they lost some men; and in a subsequent affair with the Khurruls, the Chief, Ahmed Khan, one of his sons and another leader were killed. We lost a Rissaldar and 14 men of the Mounted Police. Since this affair the Khurruls have, to a considerable extent, dispersed, and the insurrection might perhaps have subsided, as quickly as it had risen, but for an unfortunate accident. Mr. L. Berkeley, the Extra Assistant of Googaira, at the head of 150 new levies and a company of the Military Police, after defeating a considerable body of the Khattias, on which occasion he killed some 30 of them, was drawn into an ambuscade. In this affair Mr. Berkeley and 26 out of about 40 of the Military Police were killed. This success gave an impulse to the insurrection. Major C. Chamberlain, who had advanced from Multan at the head of 180 sowars of the 1st Irregular Cavalry, was attacked near Hurruppa by several thousand insurgents, and after a sharp skirmish, in which he killed some 30 of the enemy and lost 5 of his own men, was forced to take refuge in the serai at Cheechawutnee. Here he was besieged three days, and at last relieved by the advance of the force from Googaira. Since this there have been a few skirmishes with the insurgents, in one of which Major Voyle, the Deputy Commissioner of Multan, and Captain Tronson, the Officer Commanding the Military Police at Multan, who had marched up the right bank of the Sutledge, inflicted a severe chastisement on a large body of the enemy, who attacked them.

Repulse of the insurgents.

Mr. Berkeley, Extra Assistant Commissioner, and levies drawn into an ambuscade and killed.

Major C. Chamberlain attacked near Harappa and besieged at Chíchawatni. Relieved by a force from Gugera.

Skirmishes with the insurgents.

Retirement of insurgents into the jungle.

5. The insurgents have now retired with their cattle into the densest parts of the jungle, where it is not very easy or safe to attack them, without a larger body of disciplined Infantry than we can bring into the field, hampered as we are with such large numbers of disarmed Hindostanee soldiers.

The Chief Commissioner has, however, brought all the available means within his power to bear. Now that Delhie has fallen, he considers we may employ the Irregular Cavalry. The 1st, under Major Crawford Chamberlain, in disarming the two corps of Native Infantry, the 62nd and 69th, and subsequently in aiding to guard them, have already performed excellent service. Some of the Native officers also distinguished themselves in procuring evidence which led to the conviction of certain mutineers of the 69th Native Infantry. But the regiment has lately received a shock by the death of Bisharut Allie, a Risaldar of great reputation and influence, who was shot near Delhie by Lieutenant Hodson. The Native officers and men of the corps believe that he was killed unjustly. The exact circumstances of this man's death are not known to the Chief Commissioner; but, so far as he has heard, it is decidedly his impression that the Rissaldar, who was on leave, had joined the mutineers at Delhie. The regiment has, however, remained firm so far as can be judged, and a large party of them are now employed against the insurgents. Major Chamberlain has been joined by 2 guns and 250 Punjab Infantry from Multan, and is keeping open the communication and observing the country south of Hurruppa. Colonel Paton, of the Quartermaster-General's Department, with some 600 Infantry and Cavalry and 3 guns, is operating between Hurruppa and Googaira, a distance of upwards of 30 miles. Major Jackson and Captain Tronson, with 150 sowars of the 2nd Irregular Cavalry and a company of Levies, are to scour the right bank of the Sutledge; while Captains Cureton and Hockin, with about an equal force, perform the same service on the right side of the Ravee.

Intention to employ Irregular Cavalry against the Gugera insurgents.

Loyalty of 1st Irregular Cavalry.

Resentment by the Native officers and men of the 1st Irregular Cavalry of the shooting of Rasaldar Bisharat Ali by Hodson.

Despatch of reinforcements to Major Chamberlain

Disposition of forces.

6. The insurrection is not dangerous, nor even formidable, but very troublesome. The direct and chief line of communication with Multan and Bombay was interrupted, and for 15 days actually closed. It is now open, but the line is infested by the insurgents. Strong Military posts have been established at intervals, and precautions taken for the security of the road. A postal communication has also been opened down the left bank of the Sutledge between Ferozepoor and Bhawulpoor.

Re-opening of communication with Multán.

Cause of insurrection in Gugera.

7. The cause of this insurrection has not been yet discovered. It is variously attributed to machinations of an adjacent Chief, to emissaries from Delhie, to the return to their homes of one or two escaped convicts from the Agra Jail, who have spread an account of the disorganization in the North-Western Provinces. All these circumstances may perhaps have had an influence on these clans. The denuded state of the country, the efflux of the European and Punjabi Troops, and the disarming of the Hindostani Regiments may, and doubtless had, an influence on the minds of the people. The Chief Commissioner has not yet been able to ascertain the precise causes of the disturbance. No doubt, however, fanaticism, the love of plunder, the desire of change, have all had an effect. The very people who have benefited by our rule are not always proof against such temptations; while those whose passions have been curbed, and whose crimes have been punished, are eager for revenge.

Émeute in the 9th Irregular Cavalry (sent back from Delhi) at Kálábágh.

8. Besides this insurrection, the only other event of importance is the *émeute* in the 9th Irregular Cavalry. This regiment which, until a late date, bore a distinguished character was one of the corps selected by the late Commander-in-Chief for service before Delhie. It marched down to Delhie early after the outbreak; and is believed to have furnished part of the escort for the siege train from Phillour. At Delhie the corps was tampered with, and many of its Hindostanees deserted and joined the mutineers. At last it was ordered away, and returned *viâ* Amballa, Loodhiana and Ferozepoor to the Punjab. From thence, at the suggestion of the Chief Commissioner, the regiment was ordered to Bunnoo. It resumed its march, and had arrived opposite Esa Khail on the Indus. From thence the passage not being practicable, it marched for Kalabagh. On the way a number of the men mutinied and attempted to murder their officers, Lieutenants Campbell and Drummond. Copy of the reports of the former officer and Captain Hockin will be found among the annexures.

9. The mutineers appear to have been 30 in number, all Punjabees, residents of the Cis-Sutlej territory. What makes

the affair more unaccountable is, that the mutineers were headed by Vuzeer Khan, the oldest and most distinguished Rissaldar in the regiment. This officer was a Sirdar Bahadur of the highest rank. He saved Lieutenant-Colonel Christie's life in Afghanistan under circumstances when it was almost certain he must lose his own. In the retreat of the Bengal and Bombay Cavalry, in an action in which they had suffered severely, Lieutenant-Colonel Christie was dismounted and about to be overtaken by the Afghans in hot pursuit. In this dilemma, Vuzeer Khan dismounted, and gave his horse to his Commanding Officer of his own accord, and thus remained behind to meet what appeared certain death. By Brigadier-General Chamberlain's account, then an officer in the 9th Irregulars, from whose mouth the Chief Commissioner heard the story, our troops who advanced and checked the Afghans found Vuzeer Khan and a few dismounted troopers making their way sword in hand towards the British Camp.

The mutineers are headed by Rasaldar Wazir Khan.

Antecedents and services of Wazir Khan.

10. This Vuzeer Khan and his party were overtaken opposite Jhung on the right bank of the Jhelum by a party of the 17th Irregulars under Captain Hockin, and a detachment of the Mounted Levies from Derah Ishmael Khan and Shahpoor under Messrs. Cowan and Thompson, the two Extra Assistants, and Ensign Chalmers of the 39th Native Infantry, a Volunteer, when the Rissaldar and 16 of his men were all slain. It is lamentable to think that so noble a soldier has met with so sad a fate, and still more sad to know that he appears to have brought it on himself. The mutineers fought desperately. Mr. Thompson, who is said to have behaved most gallantly, besides other wounds, lost his left hand from a sword cut; and Ensign Chalmers also was severely wounded in two places. Aliverdi Khan, the Rissaldar of the 17th, and several of his men, have been either killed or wounded.

Mutineers overtaken near Jhang.

Fate of mutineers.

Mr. Thompson, Extra Assistant Commissioner, and Ensign Chalmers wounded.

11. Copies of various correspondence and telegrams connected with affairs before Delhie are herewith forwarded. The Chief Commissioner has advocated the occupation of the palace

From General A. Wilson, dated 26th September 1857.
To General A. Wilson, dated 26th September 1857.
20 Telegrams.

Telegrams connected with affairs before Delhi.

Reasons of Sir John Lawrence for advocating the occupation of the palace at Delhi.

as a depôt for our sick and wounded, and for the munitions of war. He considers that we cannot safely hold the town with those precautions which are consonant to military rules without neglecting more important objects, *viz.*, the pursuit of the mutineers, the prevention of the spread of disaffection, the disarming the population, and the reorganization of the Civil administration. All these important measures are only to be accomplished by the use of moveable columns. And while these means are of so vital importance to the vindication of our supremacy, they will also, it must be remembered, conduce materially to the security of the troops themselves. It will be satisfactory to Government to know that the pursuit of at least one body of mutineers, though somewhat delayed, was not ineffectual. They were overtaken at Boolundshahur on the 28th ultimo, about 40 miles from Delhie, and defeated with some loss.

Pursuit and defeat of a body of mutineers at Bulandshahr.

Paucity of European Troops at Delhi.

12. The Chief Commissioner does not know whether a European Regiment will be spared from Delhie for the Punjab or not. He is most unwilling to press his request for one. He perceives that European Troops can ill be spared from Delhie while they are much wanted in the Punjab. The five* regiments at Delhie probably cannot turn out 1,600 effective men. As the cold weather approaches, some men will become fit for service, but no great number can be calculated on. Out of the six regiments of European Infantry now in the Punjab, three are at Peshawur, and by the last return could only muster 1,100 effective men. The other three† are distributed over the rest of the country and probably muster about 2,300 effective men. Brigadier-General Cotton is most anxious to obtain a fresh regiment in the place of one of his sickly ones at Peshawur. The Chief Commissioner has suggested to General Gowan that Her Majesty's 81st move by detachments to Peshawur, and be in

*1st Fusiliers ...	200
2nd Fusiliers ...	300
Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment	350
Her Majesty's 60th Rifles	350
Her Majesty's 61st Regiment	No return.

†Her Majesty's 24th ...	550
Her Majesty's 81st ...	750
Bombay Fusiliers ...	750
Detachment of Her Majesty's 8th ...	200
	2,250

like manner replaced on this side the Indus by Her Majesty's 87th; General Gowan, however, demurs. This is only mentioned to show the difficulties of our position.

Appeal of Sir John Lawrence for at least one European Regiment for Peshâwar.

13. By a return which the Commissioner in Sinde has kindly furnished, the Chief Commissioner perceives that only 2,200 European Troops are destined for Kurrachee. These sailed in July from England, and, as none started before the 14th and most of them later, few of them will probably arrive before the end of this month. No reinforcements from this source can reach Multan before the end of November, nor Lahore before the 20th of December. Six weeks more would elapse before they could reach Peshawur. The Chief Commissioner therefore earnestly hopes that, if practicable, even one strong regiment be sent to Kurrachee and pushed up the Indus as soon as possible. He finds that several regiments have been sent to Ceylon and Madras there to receive further orders. Some of these troops were coming out in steam vessels, and have perhaps arrived by this time. A small part of them would be a God-send to us. It is an immense temptation, a severe trial, on our allies and subjects, that month after month elapses and not a solitary reinforcement reaches the Punjab. The emissaries along a border of 800 miles, the different races which we have conquered and subjugated within the last 11 years, the very soldiers we have been obliged to raise, cannot fail to see our weakness and their strength. If any man had told the Chief Commissioner a year ago that we could hold the Punjab with 5 or 6,000 European soldiers, and the aid which the Punjabees themselves afford, and overawe nearly 20,000 Hindostani soldiers, he would have declared that man a visionary. But such is really the case. How long this can last it is impossible to say. But that aid is highly desirable cannot be denied. The Chief Commissioner can only hope that it will be in the power of the Supreme Government to afford it soon.

Death of Brigadier-General Nicholson. Estimate of his services.

14. The Chief Commissioner cannot close this despatch without again adverting to the loss of Brigadier-General Nicholson. That noble soldier was mortally wounded on the 14th and died on the 23rd of September. He was an officer of the

highest merit, and his services since the mutiny broke out have not been surpassed by those of any other officer in this part of India. At a time like this his loss is a public misfortune.

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 198.

From Lieutenant H. L. CAMPBELL, Commanding 9th Irregular Cavalry, to Major PRIOR, Assistant Adjutant-General, Upper Provinces, Meean Meer,—No. 124, dated Camp Mooch, 22nd September 1857.

Report by Lieutenant H. L. Campbell on the émeute in the 9th Irregular Cavalry.

I HAVE the honor to report, for the information of Major-General Gowan, C. B., Commanding Upper Provinces, that the passage of the Indus at Esa Khail being reported impracticable, I was yesterday proceeding towards Mooch, *en route* to Kalabagh, for the purpose of crossing at that ghat, when about daybreak one Native officer, two Duffadars and 27 sowars, nearly all men from the Puttiala Raja's country, deserted from the regiment, having first attempted to shoot the Adjutant, Wordie-Major and myself.

2. I had been for several days suffering from a severe attack of liver, and was proceeding at a short distance in rear of the regiment in a dooly, the Adjutant leading the regiment. Just about daybreak I was awoke by a shot fired close into my face, going through my pillow, and two others into the dooly. I sprang out with a Colt's revolver and rushed at the nearest man, who was deliberately mounting his horse, having dismounted to fire; he at once made off to a bajra crop, and concealed himself, leaving his horse, which I mounted, proceeding towards the regiment to enquire as to what it all meant. I had not gone many paces when I heard firing in front and saw several men galloping towards me. I saw at once that some of the men had mutinied, but as I felt sure that it was but few of them who had gone wrong, I went off the road into the bajra crop to see what they were up to, sending on an orderly and syce to enquire for the Adjutant and Wordie-Major and see what was going on in the regiment. The men were evidently searching for some one, when I saw the whole regiment led by Rissaldar Alee Buhadoor coming towards me at a gallop, the

Native officer with him calling out 'don't fear'; they are the Punjabees who have done this under Wuzeer Khan, Resaldar. About fifteen of them had at this time collected together, and amongst them I saw Wuzeer Khan, but could not believe it was at his instigation the attempt on our lives had been made. A Native officer called out to him, on which he stopped; but on my calling to him he made off with his party as fast as he could, clearly showing he was the guilty party; he evidently imagined I had been disposed of, and was much astonished to hear me call out.

Émeute in the 9th Irregular Cavalry.

It seems that when the first shots were fired at me Buhadoor Alee Buhadoor, Acting Wordie-Major, was saying his prayers when Wuzeer Khan came up to him, and seizing his wrist said "do you hear that? that is the Commandant Officer killed"; he jumped up to seize his sword, which he then found had been removed by the Adjutant's orderly (one of the mutineers). Finding this the case, he mounted his horse without even waiting to put on his shoes, which he had taken off preparatory to praying, and rushing at the man who had taken it, snatched it from his hand. During this time several shots were fired at the Adjutant and Wordie-Major, who called out to the former to bolt for it, and at once brought the regiment back to where my orderly told him he had last seen me.

3. I immediately followed up these deserters, and ran them so close that I have little fear that all will be captured. In the first place I had the satisfaction of overtaking the man who had fired in my face and whose horse I had taken. He gave me a shot from his carbine at about 20 paces, but missing, I gave him in return a pistol ball through his sword arm, when he was immediately cut down by the Native officers and men with me.

Pursuit by Lieutenant Campbell and its results.

From this place we followed up the remainder for nearly 20 miles. About the 6th mile we came up with one of their horses done up; we pushed on to a large village, and in a jungle not far from it, came up with the Resaldar's horse, which died shortly afterwards. A little further on we came

to thick "jhow" jungle very high, and lost sight of them. This compelled us to track them, by which we lost some little time. However, on getting clear of this, we came to a clear track and pushing on came up with and killed another sowar; from this we pushed on as hard as we could for the Salt Range, to try and block the pass against them.

On arriving at the top of the pass just above the chowkee, we saw six of them wending their way up the opposite hill, having refreshed themselves with water, &c., at this place. All the remainder we had ridden so close that they were obliged to conceal themselves in the jungle.

Conduct of sepoys of a Salt chauki in allowing some sowars to escape.

4. I think it as well at this place to bring to notice, for the information of Government, should the Major-General consider it necessary, the conduct of the sepoys at the chowkee* in allowing these men to pass, unprovided as they were with either "radhdaree purwanas" or permit of any description.

*Chowkee Dowkh near the village of Moosa Kheyl.

It strikes me the guard at this chowkee signally failed in their duty to Government in not taking measures to prevent them from proceeding; had they sent on to the next chowkee at once and given information, following themselves in rear, they must easily have captured these men, their horses and themselves being done up.

5. My own horses being knocked up, and being anxious to return to the regiment to see how matters stood, I was obliged here to give up the pursuit, and therefore ordered some of the men from this chowkee to follow them up, and if possible give notice at the next. I told them there was a reward of 50 rupees on each man. Just at this time the dak-runner came up, and I put a letter into the bag for the Deputy Commissioner of Jhelum, requesting him to be on the look-out, but have just heard that these men stopped and robbed the dak.

Measures for the apprehension of the escaped sowars.

I gave notice throughout this part of the country of the men we had ridden down, and who remained concealed in the jungle. I also sent off an express to the Deputy Commis-

sioner of Shahpore requesting him to send information to all other districts. I sent to the Deputy Commissioners of Leia and Dera Ishmail Khan, and ordered the authorities here to send information to all the passes in the hills and other chowkees; in fact the whole country is on the look-out, and as the passes are blocked, if the guards do their duty, I see but one direction for them to take, *viz.*, along the foot of the Salt Range towards Shahpore or Pind Dadun Khan. I told the Tuhseeldar of Meeanwalla this, and can but think that, if the authorities in this part of the country will exert themselves in earnest, not a man can escape. The only fear I have is, that all being Puttiala men, next akin to Punjabees, they may find an easier passage through the country than the regular Hindostanees would. I reached camp at Mooch at about 6 P. M., having ridden upwards of 40 miles, and I think raised the whole country against the deserters. We killed three horses, and I fear have ruined several others in the pursuit.

Narrow escape of Lieutenant Drummond, Adjutant, 9th Irregular Cavalry.

6. Lieutenant Drummond, the Adjutant, made the best of his way back to Meeanwalla, being closely pursued by several men and having some narrow escapes. He was slightly grazed on the ankle by a ball, three slight sword wounds, and his horse wounded in five places—all bullet wounds.

Loyalty of Hindustanis in the 9th Irregular Cavalry.

7. The Native officer and men (Hindostanees) behaved remarkably well, and they were in great fear that I had been killed, in which case the Adjutant having been obliged to bolt for it, they would naturally have been supposed to have been participators in the deed. They came this morning and said plainly that a business of this sort must bring a bad name on the regiment, and requested that, whatever happened, I would save their honor (izut) for them; they had come up to Delhie after going through some pretty hard work, had left their own part of the country, and had come up into this, where they were within an inch of being let in for a scrape by these blackguards; that if I thought it advisable they would leave their arms at this place and march to Bunnoo unarmed; they would prefer giving them up here, of their own free will, to run the chance of coercion. I told them I was not afraid of them or

their arms; had I doubted the regiment as a body, I should have gone away after being fired at. I could not answer for what the Major-General might think of it, but that I would request that, should such a step ever be considered necessary, the Major-General would allow them to deliver up their arms to me, and not by coercion.

Opinion of Lieutenant Campbell as to the instigators of the émeute in the 9th Irregular Cavalry.

8. I believe the whole business, from first to last, was carried out by the Puttiala men at the instigation of Resaldar Wuzeer Khan, who is also a Puttiala man, and that the Native officers and men, Hindostanees, knew nothing about it, and were as much taken by surprise as I was. It seems to me almost worthy of the notice of the authorities the fact of these men being all from the Puttiala or Nabha Raja's country. I cannot understand their going on in this way, unless there is anything brewing that they may be aware of in this part of the country.

There are three places I'm led to believe it likely Wuzeer Khan will proceed to, *viz.*, first the house of Mahomed Shah, late Duffadar, 9th Irregular Cavalry, in Shahpore District; secondly, to the house of some Raja or Nawab of Pind Dadun Khan; thirdly, to the house of Ellahie Bukhsh, Jemadar, Collector's Office, Pind Dadun Khan.

9. I must conclude by repeating my firm conviction that the Hindostanees of the regiment have nothing to say to the matter, excepting in having done their utmost to destroy the whole party. Every Native officer but one (who was doing good service in pitching the camp and keeping order during my absence) was with me and exerted themselves to their utmost.

10. I beg to send a roll of the deserters by which you will see from what part of the country they come.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 198.

From Captain P. R. HOCKIN, Commanding Detachment, 17th Irregular Cavalry, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No 27, dated Camp Boota Kotla, 30th September 1857.

I HAVE the honor to report, for the information of the Chief Commissioner, that I arrived at Utharah Huzara on

the morning of the 28th instant *en route* to the Jhung District.

Report by Captain Hockin, 17th Irregular Cavalry, on the operations against the mutineers of the 9th Irregular Cavalry.

2. At 2 P. M. on that date a zemindar by name Poonoo, of the village of Sherewana, and Mya Dass, lumberdar of the village of Mucheewara, brought me the information that a Native officer, 16 or 17 mounted sowars, and 5 * dismounted had been seen in the neighbourhood of the above-named villages on the previous day.

* *Query* syces.

Plans of Captain Hockin to capture the mutineers. Summoning of Mr. Cowan and his Multani Sowars.

3. I arranged to take half my men, about 60, to try and capture them, previously sending an express to Mr. L. Cowan, who with a party of Mooltan Sowars was at the village of Manee, some 10 koss beyond Mucheewara (the latter village being in the direct road), requesting him to meet me at daylight on the following morning at Mucheewara: previous information had however reached him, and he was already on the march when he received my letter, and on my arrival at 6 A.M. I found he had already marched on the track of the mutineers. I immediately followed.

Operations of Mr. Cowan and Ensign Chalmers. The latter wounded.

4. After marching six koss through the "Thul," making 16 in all, I halted two hours and a half to feed my horses. I then continued my march, and on arriving at the village of Boota Kotla about four koss further, I found Mr. Cowan and Ensign Chalmers, the latter severely wounded in two places. Mr. Cowan reported he had caught up with the mutineers about two miles further on; he found them assembled under a tree, and immediately calling on his men to charge, accompanied by Ensign Chalmers, he galloped to the front, followed, he found, by Rissaldar Abdool Kureem Shah and Sowar Ghufoor Khan only; Ensign Chalmers was here wounded in two places, being shot in the right wrist and sides, and Sowar Ghufoor Khan killed; two horses were also killed in the rear.

5. After charging through the mutineers, who were all dismounted, Mr. Cowan endeavoured in vain to persuade his men to advance to the attack; on seeing it utterly hopeless, after managing to secure eight of the mutineers' horses, he returned with Ensign Chalmers to the village of Boota Kotla,

taking with him half his party, directing the remainder to keep the mutineers in sight. On reaching the village he despatched a letter to request me to bring my men up; his messenger missed me. I fortunately however arrived in time to follow up the track, and came up with a party consisting of a Native officer and 16 sowars and a bheestie, about five koss in advance of the village, about a quarter to 6 P. M.

Captain Hockin takes up the pursuit.

Party of 16 attacked and killed.

6. I immediately attacked them and killed them to a man. By the way, previous to my leading my men to the attack, the mutineers were called upon to lay down their arms, upon which we were civilly requested to come and take them.

Mr. G. Thomson, Extra Assistant Commissioner, severely wounded.

7. I regret to say that Mr. G. Thomson, Extra Assistant at Leia, was most severely wounded; he charged the mutineers in the most gallant manner, but was instantly cut down, and but for Nishanburdar Gholam Ali Jan (a nephew of Rissaldar Aliverdi Khan) and Jemadar Noor Khan, of Mr. Cowan's party, must have been killed; the former struck at the mutineer, who had overpowered Mr. Thomson, with his sword, but not succeeding in disabling him drew his pistol and shot him dead; Jemadar Noor Khan also wounded the mutineer and had his horse wounded in five places.

8. Poor Mr. Thomson had his left hand cut clean off, had a sword cut across his nose, one on his forehead, one on his neck, and was wounded in each arm, independent of the loss of his hand.

9. With the exception of two mutineers shot by Mr. Cowan, and one by myself, the whole of them were killed by my men.

Death of Rasaldar Wazir Khan in a hand-to-hand fight with Rasaldar Ali Wardi Khan.

10. Rissaldar Wuzeer Khan, mutineer, was killed in a hand-to-hand fight by Aliverdi Khan, Rissaldar Buhadoor, whose conduct was beyond all praise. The Rissaldar Wuzeer Khan singled out Aliverdi Khan and challenged him to fight, saying "We are both Rissaldars; let us see which is the best man." I regret to say Rissaldar Aliverdi Khan was severly wounded in the left thigh in the contest. The extent of the wound I cannot ascertain until the Sub-Assistant Surgeon, for whom I have sent an express to Jhung, arrives, as our Native

Doctor, fearing an injury in the artery, is afraid to open the bandages.

11. It is impossible to notice in such an affray all who distinguish themselves. I must, however, beg to bring to the Chief Commissioner's favorable notice— Names of those who distinguished themselves.

Aliverdi Khan, Rissaldar Buhadoor, who slew Rissaldar Wuzeer Khan, and previously a sowar (mutineer) who had cut down one of my men.

Nishanburdar Gholam Ali Jan (nephew of the Rissaldar), who saved Mr. Thomson's life.

Roshun Khan, Pay Sowar, who slew two men: one I saw him cut down myself.

12. The mutineers were all dismounted, and had placed themselves in a commanding position, being on a mound with a slight hollow in the centre, thereby having a natural breastwork, and having bushes in front; the very heavy sand was also greatly against Cavalry.

13. I only saw two horses with the mutineers (eight had been captured by Mr. Cowan in the morning), both of which were shot accidentally at their picquets.

14. The casualties were as follows :— Casualties on our side.

Killed—

None.

Very severely wounded—

Aliverdi Khan, Rissaldar Buhadoor.

Severely wounded—

Jemadar Meer Ibrahim, sword thrust in the chest.
Duffadar Goolab Singh, sword thrust.
Pay Sowar Roshun Khan, sword cut.
Sowar Wuzeer Khan, sword cut.
" Kudeer Khan, " "
" Phoola Singh, " "
" Bhugwunt Singh, sword cut, also shot; since dead.

Horses killed—

One.

Horses missing—

One.

15. The casualties with Mr. Cowan's party were—

Killed one sowar and one horse; wounded three horses,—one had a bullet through the neck; two had sword cuts. Mr. Cowan's horse had also a slight sword cut in the flank.

16. List of arms taken—16 carbines and 17 tulwars.

Rewards given by Captain Hockin.

17. I have taken upon myself to reward Mya Dass, lumberdar of the village of Mucheewara, and Poonoo, zemindar of the village Sherwana, the former with Rs. 50, the latter with Rs. 25; the former accompanied me the whole of yesterday, and without his assistance I could never have traced the mutineers through the "Thul." I also rewarded the villagers who brought in the wounded on charpoys, a distance of five koss, with 20 (twenty) rupees. These sums, aggregating in amount Rs. 95, I trust I may be authorized to draw from the treasury at Jhung.

Wish of Ensign Chalmers to be attached to the 17th Irregular Cavalry.

18. Ensign Chalmers, of the 39th Native Infantry, who accompanied Mr. Cowan, is unable to write himself. I therefore take it upon me to apply on his behalf that he may be permitted to do duty with the Right Wing, 17th Irregular Cavalry, under my command, as I think it very desirable a second European officer should be attached to the wing.

19. My men were in the saddle, with the exception of a 2½ hours' halt, from 1 A.M. until 10 P.M., during which time we marched upwards of 30 koss. My cattle, previously in wretched condition from the march to Delhie and back during the hottest season of the year, are consequently much knocked up, and a halt of a few days is necessary for both man and horse.

Application of Captain Hockin for permission to return to Leiah.

20. I would submit, for the Chief Commissioner's consideration, my request to be permitted to return to Leia without crossing the river, owing to the loss of the services of Rissaldar Aliverdi Khan, whose influence with the men is very great.

21. Captain Hawes writes that he does not require my services in his district; but he requested me to make over the

100 Infantry under my command, which I accordingly did some days since.

22. I left the majority of my Poorbeahs at Utharah Huzara; those that accompanied me, upwards of 20 in number, behaved very well.

ENCLOSURE (3) TO 198.

From Major-General A. WILSON, Commanding Dehlee Field Force, to A. BRANDRETH, Esquire, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—dated Dehlee, 26th September 1857.

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter* of the 22nd instant.

*Enclosure (8) to 193 (page 75).

Views of Major-General Wilson in regard to the utilization of the palace at Delhi and the vigorous prosecution of the war.

2. The Chief Commissioner impresses upon me as the chief objects for consideration, 1st, the care of our sick and wounded, and of the munitions of war; 2ndly, the secure possession of the city and palace of Dehlee; and 3rdly, the vigorous prosecution of the war.

3. With regard to the first object, I am now getting into the palace the whole of our park, as well as the recaptured munitions and guns, upwards of 200 pieces, but all this requires time. As many of the sick and wounded as accommodation can be found for are also being brought into the city and palace, but with the exception of the Dewan Khas and the open courts of the palace, the place is a dirty, close native town, with gardens covered with jungle. The whole so confined that no air can circulate, and quite unfit for sick and wounded men. The same remark applies to the whole of the city, with exception to two or three places, such as the Church and College. It will therefore be necessary to pitch tents and encamp them on the glacis under the walls of the city.

4. With regard to the second object, I consider the secure possession of the city by the occupation of the palace an impossibility, and the withdrawal of the guns and troops from the walls and bastions of the city a most unmilitary proceeding. There is no possibility of maintaining guns on any part of the palace to overawe the city. It is therefore not a defensible

position, and by confining ourselves to such position we should be like rats in a trap. The whole vile Mussulman population of the city now turned out would return, and the troops would be shut out from all communication with the country on the right bank of the river, our communications with Kurnaul cut off, and be constantly harassed with sorties and street fighting to protect ourselves from insult. If we wish to hold the palace, we must also hold the city walls, and bastions, and strong positions inside the city.

5. With regard to the third object, I have already despatched one-half of my Moveable Force into the Gangetic Doab, to follow the fugitive rebels, to clear the Doab, and open the communication with Agra; and I propose with the Chief Commissioner's sanction—this day applied for by Mr. Saunders—to send the Jummoo Contingent to Rohtuk to restore order in that district. The remainder of my force has been so crippled by casualties and wounds, particularly the horse and foot batteries, who can with difficulty man half their guns, as to be quite unfit for active operations in the field. Her Majesty's 61st Regiment is reported by its Commanding Officer, from weakness arising from long continued sickness, to be quite incapable for any active service. The 1st and 2nd European Regiments, now reduced the former to 230, the latter to 300 effective bayonets, and who entered on the campaign without clothing, bedding, or any of the comforts or necessaries so essential to the European soldier in this country, are equally inefficient for any hard continued service. In fact, until I can get all my sick, stores and munitions brought into the city, and the camp under protection of the walls, I cannot weaken my present force by sending out any other columns.

State of health of Major-General Wilson.

6. I am myself so knocked up in both mind and body, from long continued exertion during the whole of the worst season of the year, that I am incapable of performing to my own satisfaction the duties now entailed upon me, and feel the actual necessity of a short leave of absence to recruit, but I am so situated that there is no one to whom I can entrust the command.

ENCLOSURE (4) TO 198.

From A. BRANDRETH, Esquire, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to Major-General A. WILSON, Commanding Field Force, Dehlee,—dated Lahore, 29th September 1857.

Reply of Sir John Lawrence to General Wilson's remarks regarding the utilization of the palace at Delhi and the prosecution of the war.

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th instant and to make the following observations.

2. The Chief Commissioner has no doubt but that you will endeavour to make the best arrangements in your power to carry out such measures as are obviously necessary for the safety of Dehlee and the vigorous prosecution of the war. You are of course the proper judge as to what is best to be done. All that he meant was to deprecate the destruction of the palace, or any arrangements whereby the pursuit of the mutineers might be possibly impeded.

3. Doubtless great military defects in the palace might be pointed out. But it appears to the Chief Commissioner also to possess great advantages. It occupies a commanding and important position, and is massively constructed. The defects to which you point in the 3rd paragraph of your letter might, he would apprehend, be readily obviated by a little skill and labour on the part of our Engineers.

4. The Chief Commissioner did not intend to suggest that our occupation should be absolutely confined to the fort, but rather that we should hold that quarter of the city of which the fort forms the centre. We might in his judgment, for instance, occupy all the ground within a line drawn from the Cashmere Gate, past the college and magazine, through the Lal Diggee in front of the palace, to the entrance, or a little beyond the entrance to the Dehlee Gate, thus including the old Duriao Gunge lines.

5. The Chief Commissioner advocated our withdrawing the guns from the walls of the city because he believes we shall find no use for them in their present position, and because it appeared to him that, unless we retained more troops for the

purpose than we could spare, guns in such positions were liable to be seized. Each bastion, or redoubt, except that at the Cashmere Gate, is more or less isolated, and open to approach from the city wall. The Chief Commissioner believes that after what they have seen and suffered we have little to fear from the Mahomedan population of Dehlee, with very ordinary precautions. But that whatever does exist, is more to be apprehended from them if we hold the walls in regular military fashion, with inadequate means, than if we withdrew our guns and simply held the gates with Policemen. But under such circumstances the Chief Commissioner contemplated that heavy guns and mortars would be placed in a suitable position, near the palace, to overawe the inhabitants.

Views of Sir J. Lawrence in regard to the restriction of the return of the inhabitants of Delhi.

6. The Chief Commissioner would not recommend that any of the inhabitants be allowed to return to the city, except under formal licenses under the signature of the Magistrate, which should detail the members of each family. These licenses would prevent dangerous characters returning. They would facilitate scrutiny and have a restrictive tendency. This and other regulations of a police nature, whereby the possession of arms was made highly penal, and whereby people were debarred from leaving their houses after a given hour of the night, and before dawn, would render the city even more secure than ever. But should these and similar precautions be considered insufficient, the Mahomedan population might be absolutely prohibited from returning to their habitations inside the walls for the present.

Benefits to be derived from the operations of the Movable Columns.

7. As regards the third point, the Chief Commissioner considers that the despatch of the different columns, and indeed of as many columns within a moderate distance from Dehlee as you can spare, will have the most beneficial effect in tranquillizing the country, subduing opposition, and overawing the disaffected. It will enable us to disarm the people and reorganize our Civil establishments, to punish our enemies, and to assure our friends. So long as these small columns are not far distant from the position which the main force holds, they will not only be, to all intents and purposes, a part of it, but actu-

ally contributing more effectually to its security than if at head-quarters. They will form, as it were, the picquets of the main body, and even in a sanitary point of view, provided the troops which compose these moving brigades are not unduly worked, the Chief Commissioner considers that the arrangement will prove beneficial. When are troops so healthy and in such spirits as when marching in a cool climate? He only this day saw a letter from an officer belonging to the pursuing column, who remarked that the change from the polluted atmosphere of Dehlee to the fresh breezes of the country was most invigorating. The soldiers at first starting may be averse to the change, but after a short time even they enjoy it.

Opinion of Sir J. Lawrence that security has been established at Delhi.

8. The Chief Commissioner cannot conceive that any danger can now arise at Dehlee from the people of the country. If they were for the most part quiescent when our fate quivered in the balance, they will now be thoroughly overawed. With good arrangements and good discipline our troops may now do almost anything. We shall now have no enemies round Dehlee. No one dare raise his head. All are our devoted servants. We may venture a great deal where circumstances demand our so doing. The effects of the capture of the city and palace of Dehlee and the utter rout of the bulk of the mutineers, in a political and military point of view, are prodigious.

Suggestions for utilizing the palace.

9. The Chief Commissioner suggests that our Pioneers be employed on clearing out the palace, levelling such enclosures and buildings as may not be likely to prove useful, and, in short, in making it suited for a depôt for the munitions of war and our treasure.

Concern of Sir John Lawrence at the failure of General Wilson's health.

10. Lastly, I am desired to express the Chief Commissioner's concern at the failure of your health. The labors, mental and corporeal, which you have undergone since the assumption of the chief command must have been excessive, and it is only astonishing that you have not succumbed. But you have the consolation and satisfaction, under all your trials, of knowing that under the blessing of God Almighty you have been the instrument of vindicating the honor of your country and maintaining its supremacy in Hindoostan.

ENCLOSURE (5) TO 198.

Telegram from G. C. BARNES, Esquire, Umballa, to the Chief Commissioner, Lahore.

IT is 2 P.M., 22nd September 1857.

Suggestion of Mr. Barnes for the disposal of the King.

Colonel Becher reports that Hodson has brought in the King all alone. What is to be done with him? Would it not be a good plan to send him to Umballa or Ferozepore?

ENCLOSURE (6) TO 198.

Telegram from Chief Commissioner, Lahore, to the Commissioner, Umballa,—dated Lahore, 22nd September 1857.

Views of Sir John Lawrence.

I WOULD not send the King up this way. I would keep him at Delhi, and send him to Meerut, when troops move across. His being in our possession would be useful. Now 3 P.M.

NOTE.—Also printed as enclosure (4) to 193 (page 73).

ENCLOSURE (7) TO 198.

Telegram from C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Delhi, to the Chief Commissioner, Lahore,—dated 23rd September 1857.

Administration of Delhi territory.

YOUR message of the 20th has, owing to an interruption in the telegraph communication, only just been received. I consider your assumption of the administration of the Delhi territory will, under the present circumstances, be highly beneficial on public grounds, and therefore with the concurrence of Major-General Wilson, and subject to confirmation by the Officiating Lieutenant-Governor, and Government, place myself under your orders, and will officiate, as proposed, as Commissioner of Delhi. We have uninterrupted possession of the whole city and palace; and I am glad to be able to report that through the exertions of Captain Hodson and his Native Assistant, Moulvie Rujjub Alli, the King of Delhi gave himself up, on the sole condition of having his life spared, yesterday evening, and is now in safe custody with his wife.

Possession of Delhi and conditional surrender of the King.

CONTINUATION of Mr. C. B. Saunders' message of last night:—

After "in safe custody with his wife" add "Zeenut-ool-Nissa," and a few of his attendants.

ENCLOSURE (8) TO 198.

Telegram from Major-General A. WILSON, Delhi, to the Chief Commissioner, Lahore,—dated 24th September 1857.

Suggestions for the administration of the Delhi and Rohtak Districts.

IF Mr. Saunders concurs with me, I would recommend to Sir John Lawrence that he should take the administration of the Delhi District into his own hand, through Mr. Saunders as Commissioner, and that he should send down from the Punjab an active and intelligent officer to exercise the civil and political duties in the Rohtuck District.

ENCLOSURE (9) TO 198.

Telegram from the Chief Commissioner, Lahore, to Major-General A. WILSON, Delhi,—dated 24th September 1857.

Suggestion of Sir John Lawrence that General Wilson should undertake ulterior operations.

IT is now 11 A.M. Have you decided on ulterior operations? If not I strongly urge that you do so. Time is precious. I hear that the insurgents in Mozuffurnuggur have repulsed the Magistrate. Pray despatch troops to aid him; also to help to take and destroy Wulleedad near Boolundshahur, and so open communication towards Allyghur. 500 men will do to-day what may require as many thousands a week or two hence. The insurrection between this and Mooltan is not yet put down, and the 9th Irregular Cavalry have mutinied near Kalabagh. If you can spare the European Corps intended for the Punjab, pray send it off. We may have to aid Scinde. The Native Artillery has just been disarmed at Hydrabad.

Application for a European Regiment for the Punjab.

ENCLOSURE (10) TO 198.

Telegram from Major-General A. WILSON, Delhi, to the Chief Commissioner, Lahore,—dated 24th September 1857.

Despatch of troops to Bulandshahr to act against Walidad.

IT is 5 P.M. Her Majesty's 8th and 75th Regiments, Green's and Wilde's Corps, 750 Cavalry and 16 guns, with 2 companies Muzbee Pioneers, marched this morning towards Boolundshahur to destroy Wulleedad and cut up the fugitives. The Belooch Battalion marched at the same time for Meerut. If you take away another European Regiment before the city

is settled, and my camp moved underneath the walls, which is being done as quickly as possible, I shall be seriously crippled. The 52nd, 400 strong, is the only regiment I have here fit to move, and they have 150 sick and wounded. The other three regiments are so reduced by sickness and casualties as to be nearly unfit for any service in the field. If the 52nd is taken away, I shall be unable to send any troops to quell any disturbance in the district.

Inability of General Wilson to spare a European Regiment for the Punjab.

ENCLOSURE (11) TO 198.

Telegram from the Chief Commissioner, Lahore, to Major-General A. WILSON, Delhi,—dated Lahore, 25th September 1857.

Withdrawal of a European Regiment from Delhi deferred. Despatch of Movable Columns suggested.

It is 8 A. M. I received your message of 5 P. M. last night. We will wait for the present, and not take a corps from you. We are very weak, but we will do our best not to draw on you. I suggest that no time be lost in sending out small Moveable Columns to disarm all the country round Delhi and punish any recusant parties. Columns of 3 guns, 300 Infantry and 200 Cavalry would suffice. I suggest that you send your convalescents to Mehrowlie. It is the healthiest place all round Delhi.

ENCLOSURE (12) TO 198.

Telegram from Brigadier-General NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN, Delhi, to Chief Commissioner, Lahore; Mr. BARNES, Umballa; Major LAKE, Jullundur; and Colonel EDWARDES, Peshawur,—dated Delhi, 24th September 1857.

Despatch of a column of pursuit to Ghází-ud-dín-nagar *en route* to Málágarh.

A COLUMN OF PURSUIT marched this morning to Ghazeeood-deen-nuggur *en route* to Malagurh and Allygurh, which consists of 2 troops of Horse Artillery, 1 Light Field Battery, in all 18 field guns, 338 Light European Cavalry, 429 Native Cavalry, 180 Punjab Sappers, 616 European Infantry and 976 Punjab Infantry. Total 2,639 fighting men. A remnant of Mohamedan scum with some sepoys, between 200 and 300, who had hitherto concealed themselves in Durreaon Gunje Mohulla, passed out of the city, cutting up our stragglers who chanced to stray, were this morning destroyed. Relics of our countrywomen were upon them, and in their houses all sorts of

European property. The remains of the late Brigadier-General Nicholson were interred this morning in the new burial-ground near Ludlow Castle.

Burial of Brigadier-General Nicholson.

N.B.—The above received from Head-Quarters Camp, 25th September, at Delhi E. Telegraph Office.
7 A.M.

ENCLOSURE (13) TO 198.

Telegram from Major-General A. WILSON, Delhi, to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore,—dated Delhi, 24th September 1857.

Enquiry of General Wilson in connection with the trial of the King.

IT is half past 11 A.M. Your message of yesterday,* 4 P.M., received. The King of Delhi on giving himself up was promised his life. Do you still wish the court of officers to be convened?

*Enclosure (5) to 193 (page 73).

ENCLOSURE (14) TO 198.

Telegram from the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore, to Major-General A. WILSON, Delhi,—dated Lahore, 25th September 1857.

Reply of Sir John Lawrence.

MY object in proposing a court was to endeavour to get out of the King as much as possible connected with the late insurrection. Mr. C. Saunders, however, can do all that is necessary.

ENCLOSURE (15) TO 198.

Telegram from C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Delhi, to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore,—dated 27th September 1857.

Despatch of a column under Brigadier Showers to bring in members of the Royal family implicated in the rebellion.

A STRONG Moveable Column under Brigadier Showers marched this morning to Humayoon's Tomb and will proceed to the Kootub, and wherever else their presence may be required. The sons and grandsons of the King and other parties implicated in the late rebellion will be seized and brought in to stand their trial before a Military Commission. Their wives, and immediate female relatives of the King and his sons, are to be told that, if they wish to come in, they will receive shelter and protection until the receipt of the orders of Government regarding their ultimate disposal. The population now at the Kootub and Humayoon's Tomb are to be disarmed. It is now ½ past 11 o'clock A. M., 27th September.

ENCLOSURE (16) TO 198.

Telegram from Major-General A. WILSON, Delhi, to Chief Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore,—dated Delhi, 28th September 1857.

Capture of three of the King's sons.

Constitution of Court for the trial of prisoners.

IT is 2 P. M. Three of the King's sons, Mirza Jumma Bukht, Bukhtawur Shah and Mirza Mendoo, were sent in last night from Humayoon's Tomb by Brigadier Showers, Commanding a Column sent out in that direction. More of the King's relatives will probably be sent in. Shall I appoint a Military Commission to try all such prisoners? Mr. Saunders advocates delay until more full evidence can be brought against them.

ENCLOSURE (17) TO 198.

Telegram from the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore, to Major-General A. WILSON, Delhi,—dated 28th September 1857.

IT is now 7½ P. M. I would recommend the trial, and, on conviction, the punishment of the Shahzadas. I do not see that anything is to be gained by delay.

ENCLOSURE (18) TO 198.

Telegram from Brigadier-General NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN, Delhi, to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore,—dated Delhi, 28th September 1857.

Despatch of a Movable Column towards Farídabad *en route* to Málágarh.

A MOVEABLE COLUMN consisting of 200 of Her Majesty's 52nd Light Infantry, 200 Guides, 300 4th Seikh Regiment, 150 Guide Cavalry, 150 of Hodson's Horse, 4 guns of Horse Artillery, with two 5½-inch mortars, marched this morning under Brigadier Showers for Furreedabad, the first march towards Malagurh: its further movements are uncertain. It will probably be out 10 days. Captain Wilde, Commanding Punjab Infantry, has returned from Dadree, ill with cholera. There is every hope of his recovery.

ENCLOSURE (19) TO 198.

Telegram from C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Offg. Commissioner, Delhi, to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore,—dated 29th September 1857.

Suggestion of Mr. Saunders to send the King of Delhi to Govindgarh.

IT is 7 A. M. of the 29th September. General Wilson proposes to send back Her Majesty's 52nd to the Punjab. It will be a good opportunity to deport the King of Delhi and to send him under safe-conduct to Govindgurh, where he is not

likely to have much sympathy shown him, or to become again a focus for intrigue and rebellion. Do you wish him to be tried by a Military Commission *pro formá*, for his life has been guaranteed to him? The evidence which can be adduced against him will be conclusive to the share he took in the insurrection, for there are numerous documents found with orders endorsed upon them in his own handwriting. Mirzas Mendoo, Bukhtawur Shah and Jumma Bukht have been apprehended; the latter is a mere boy, the son of Zeenut Mahul and the King, and nothing can be proved against him. The other two I propose to send before a Military Commission when I have been able to collect sufficient evidence regarding their complicity. Mirza Koore Shah and Abdoolla were also apprehended by the Column under Brigadier Showers, but by some mismanagement were allowed to escape.

Trial of King and Shahzadas.

ENCLOSURE (20) TO 198.

Telegram from Major-General A. WILSON, Delhi, to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore,—dated Delhi, 29th September 1857.

IT is 8 o'clock A. M. Received yours of the 26th last night. I will send you back a Queen's Regiment, either the 52nd or 61st. Mr. Saunders suggests that, with your sanction, the King of Delhi, his wife Zeenut Mahul, and his son Mirza Jumma Bukht, should be escorted to the Fort of Govindgurh by this regiment. Send me your orders on this subject, and if you wish the King to be tried by a Military Commission previously to his departure from this.

Return of a Queen's Regiment to the Punjab and proposed despatch of the King to Govindgarh.

ENCLOSURE (21) TO 198.

Telegram from the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to the Commissioner, Delhi,—dated Lahore, 30th September 1857.

IT is very sad Shahzadas being allowed to escape. If we go on in this way there will be a general outcry. I think those now in custody should be tried and disposed of. Mirza Jawan Bukht is I hear 18 or 19. He was married some years ago. If so, I think he should be tried also. He is an insurgent and rebel. Delay is only productive of evil. Example is wanted. If we don't punish now, we shall never do it. As regards the King I will write by post.

Opinion of Sir John Lawrence as to the trial of the Shahzadas.

ENCLOSURE (22) TO 198.

Telegram from Captain NORMAN with Camp of Colonel GREATHED, Boolundshahur, to Mr BARNES, Umballa, and Colonel MACPHERSON, Lahore,—dated 28th September 1857.

Defeat of Jhánsi Troops at Bulandshahr. Our casualties.

IT is 3 P. M., 28th September. The Jhansi Troops with their Artillery, aided by a miscellaneous assemblage of insurgents, having taken up a very strong position in front of Boolundshahur, were attacked this morning by all available portions of this force, and after a sharp engagement were defeated into and through the town, and pursued beyond it. They have fled in various directions, leaving in our hands one 9-pounder and one 3-pounder guns, 2 ammunition waggons, and many hackeries laden with small arm ammunition, carriage, &c. They left upwards of 100 dead on the field; were seen to carry off many killed and wounded. Our loss is about 60 killed and wounded, including Captain Best, 8th Cavalry; Lieutenant Sarel and Cornet Blair, 9th Lancers, and Lieutenant Edgeworth, 8th Foot, were all severely wounded. Captain Drysdale, 9th Lancers, was severely hurt by horse falling when shot. Our camp is now pitched on the Anopshahur side of the town and about six miles from the insurgents' fort of Malagurh.

ENCLOSURE (23) TO 198.

Telegram from Captain NORMAN, Camp of Colonel GREATHED's Force, to Mr. BARNES, Umballa; Colonel MACPHERSON and General GOWAN, Lahore,—dated 28th September 1857.

Evacuation of the Fort of Málágarh by the rebels.

IT is 6 P. M., 28th September. Information has just been received that the Fort of Malagurh is evacuated. A party of Cavalry has gone out to take possession.

ENCLOSURE (24) TO 198.

Telegram from Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army, Boolundshahur, to Mr. BARNES, Umballa, and Colonel MACPHERSON and General GOWAN, Lahore,—dated 29th September 1857.

Destruction of the Fort of Málágarh.

IT is 1 P. M., 29th September. A 6-pounder and several small native guns and wall pieces were left in the Fort of Malagurh, together with a quantity of ammunition, caps and prop-

erty of all descriptions. Some sick and sepoys were also found there. The Engineers are now engaged in preparations for destruction of the fort, which is of mud and clay and strong. When the fort is destroyed this force will probably advance to Anopshahur.

ENCLOSURE (25) TO 198.

Telegram from Major-General A. WILSON, Delhi, to Major-General GOWAN, Lahore,—dated Delhi, 29th September 1857.

WILL you kindly let me know by telegraph if the arrangements recommended in my letter of the 27th instant can be carried out. I am too unwell to carry on the duties here, and must go to Meerut, or the hills to recruit, and if no one else is sent to relieve me, I shall make over command to Brigadier Longfield, the next senior officer.

Desire of Major-General Wilson to be relieved.

199. *From G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to Sir John LAWRENCE, K.C.B., Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 4100, dated Fort William, 6th October 1857 (received 11th November 1857).*

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Officiating Secretary's letter dated the 27th August last, No. 43,* and of its enclosure, regarding the auxiliary force supplied to the British Government by the Maharaja of Cashmere and Jummoo.

*162 (Part I, page 420).

Approval by Government of the proceedings of Sir John Lawrence in connection with the Kashmir Auxiliary Force.

2. In reply, I am directed to inform you that all your proceedings, as reported in the above letter, appear to the Governor-General in Council to have been eminently judicious, and that His Lordship in Council thanks you for your personal exertions in reviewing these troops and adopting measures for making them a valuable addition to the Field Force besieging Delhi.

3. The Governor-General in Council observes that the troops have been promised by the Maharaja an increase of pay to the extent of 25 per cent. as far as the Sutlej, and of 50 per cent. after they cross that river. His Lordship in Council is of

Question of defraying the cost of the force.

opinion that the Maharaja's Treasury ought not to be burdened with this extra charge. He desires to be informed whether there is any understanding as to the defraying of the expense by the British Government.

Khillat and presents granted by Sir John Lawrence approved.

4. The Governor-General in Council approves of your having given a khillut to the Dewan and each of the Native officers of the force, and a present of Rs. 5,000 to the troops, and of your having promised pensions for the sons (or widows) of the killed and gratuities for the wounded.

5. The assurances which were given by you to the officers in order to enlist their good feelings appear to the Governor-General in Council to have been well-timed and judicious.

Selection of Captain R. Lawrence for the charge of the force approved.

6. The Governor-General in Council entirely approves of your selection of Captain R. Lawrence to take charge of the Auxiliary Force, and of your proposal to allow him the local rank of Lieutenant-Colonel while he may be so employed. The Military Department has been requested to issue the requisite orders on this point.

Pay of European officers attached to the force.

7. The Governor-General in Council sanctions the allowances recommended by you for the European officers attached to the force as noted below :—

	Rs.	
Captain R. Lawrence, 73rd Native Infantry	1,600	per mensem.
Captain H. A. Dwyer, 59th Native Infantry	800	"
Lieutenant D. Mocatta, 26th Native Infantry	700	"
Lieutenant W. S. Graham, 2nd Light Cavalry	600	"
Lieutenant G. R. Manderson, Artillery	600	"
Doctor R. Parker	650	"
Doctor J. C. Corbyn	650	"
	5,600	

Orders regarding the employment of the Kashmir Troops approved.

8. The letters addressed by you to General Wilson and Captain Lawrence, of which copies accompany your Officiating Secretary's letter under acknowledgment, are also approved by the Governor-General in Council, and are adopted by him.

200. *From G. F. Edmonstone, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to Sir John Lawrence, K.C.B., Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 4102, dated Fort William, 6th October 1857.*

Reply of the Government of India to letter No. 44, dated the 27th of August 1857.

In reply to your Officiating Secretary's letter dated the 27th August last, No. 44,* submitting a report of events in the Punjab, I am directed by the Governor-General in Council to acquaint you that copies of paragraphs 2, 7 and 8 thereof have been sent to the Military Department for information, as have copies of the postscript of the letter, and of the return of the insurgent forces inside of Delhi to which it refers.

*163 (Part I, page 426).

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201. *From A. Brandreth, Esquire, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. Edmonstone, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 64, dated Lahore, 6th October 1857.*

Curious documents found in the palace at Delhi.

I am directed to submit, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, translation of certain curious documents which Captian Briggs, the Superintendent of the Transport Agency, picked up in one of the interior apartments of the palace at Delhy on the day that place was captured, and has forwarded to the Chief Commissioner.

Nature and description of the documents.

2. These documents appear to the Chief Commissioner sufficiently curious and interesting to their being laid before the Supreme Government. All but one are evidently genuine, and all throw much light on the character of the present mutiny and insurrection, and prove, if indeed any evidence were wanting, what were the views and objects of the leading characters, and how thoroughly satisfied they were of success.

3. The first document is the draft of a letter from 27 of the leading officers of the mutineers at Delhy congratulating those of the Neemuch Force at their success (probably before Agra), and urging them to march rapidly on to Delhy. The letter is signed by the Commander-in-Chief, by 25 Colonels of

Nature and description of the documents found in the palace at Delhi.

Regiments, and by one Muhummud Shufee Khan of the 8th Irregular Cavalry. Though the great majority of the parties were Hindoos, it is worthy of remark that they style the King of Delhy as their spiritual as well as secular leader.

4. The second document is a petition from one Muhummud Oomrao Buhadoor, who with a considerable retinue had arrived at Delhy, and solicited permission to wait on the King, with a representation from Uzeem-ood-dowlah Muhummud Wuleedad Khan.

5. The third is a very interesting paper, purporting to be an address from six of the Court or Military Council, remonstrating with the General Commanding-in-Chief in measured, but decided, tones on the impropriety of his conduct in subverting the authority of Mirza Moghul and not acting in accordance with those rules which should guide a statesman.

6. The fourth is a letter from the Raja of Chunderi in Bundelkhund to the King giving him a sketch of the state of parties in that Province and in the adjoining one of Saugor.

7. The fifth paper in the list is merely an order from the King to Captain James Skinner requiring him to pay the revenue of his lands.

8. The sixth is a petition from the nephew of the Rampoor Nawab for service, which was graciously complied with.

9. The seventh is a statement drawn up by certain officers of the mutineers explaining the proper mode of obtaining a loan of money, collecting revenue, and managing the country.

10. The eighth is a palpable fabrication. It is the draft of a petition purporting to be from Maharaja Goolab Singh, and evidently fabricated for publication with the view of giving confidence to the deluded multitude. Natives are great adepts at such practices, and fully understand how to turn such false words to account. Thus the watchword of revolt was "our religion is in danger." Thus the doubtful and the

well intentioned sepoy was awakened suddenly by the cry "the Europeans and guns are coming down to blow us to pieces." It was often given out that the Chief of Jummoo and Cashmere was marching down to Delhy with a large force in aid of the mutineers. And the mere fact that His Highness furnished a contingent to fight on our side was in itself of great political value.

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 201.

To General SUDHAREE SINGH, *and Shekh* GHOUS MOHUMMUD, *Brigade-Major, and all the Officers and Troops of the victorious Neemuch Force.*

Translations of documents found in the palace at Delhi—No. 1.

MOHUMMUD BUKHT KHAN, the Governor Buhadoor, all the troops present in the capital of Delhi, and all the officers of the troops detailed, send you greeting and congratulations, and let it be known to you, brethren! that when your petition to the address of His Majesty the King, describing your valorous deeds, was received from Bakoolee in the Bhurtpoor territory, the perusal of it gladdened His Majesty's heart, and he has ordered you to march to Delhi with the utmost speed. Your original petition has been sent to us for perusal, and we all, *i.e.*, the officers, are proud of your brave and valorous deeds of which we have read and heard. Brethren! your King and all of us are night and day labouring for the annihilation of a small body of Christians, those infidels having from fear of their lives entrenched themselves on the top of a hill which is neither practicable for Cavalry nor assailable by the Artillery. God willing, in a short time the plain of Delhi will be cleared of the existence of these impure Nazarenes. But now, brethren! you should march expeditiously without halting and reach the presence of your (both secular and spiritual) King and unite with us in the extirpation of the infidels. Render your King happy by your presence inasmuch as this is the most important enterprise, after the successful termination of which we propose to invade Meerut, Puttiala, Hansee, Lucknow and Agra, &c., as a few Europeans still remain at those places.

Translations of documents found in the palace at Delhi—No. 1.

Therefore, you must come over without a moment's delay. We are anxiously awaiting you.

Dated 15th Zeeqad 21st year (8th July 1857).*

Written by Khowajah Khyrat Allee, Meer Moonshee of the Governor's Office (Muhkmah Governoree).

(Sd.) Jewa Singh, Colonel, 3rd Regiment.
" Shekh Faizoolla, Colonel, Regiment ——.
" Shumsher Singh, Colonel, Regiment ——.
" Shekh Khoda Buksh, Colonel, Regiment ——.
" Bhageerut Misr, Colonel, Regiment 15th.
" Thakoor Purshad, Colonel, 15th Regiment.
" Gunga Deen, Doobey, Colonel, Regiment ——.
" Ghunsam Singh, Colonel, 28th Regiment.
" Colonel Ram Tahal Singh, 29th Regiment.
" Oomur Khan, Colonel, 30th Regiment.
" Hunmut (?) Lal Misr, Colonel, 36th Regiment.
" Koolwunt Singh, Colonel, 38th Regiment.
" Ram Purshad Pandey, Colonel, 44th Regiment.
" Bullee Beharee, Colonel, 45th Regiment.
" Shekh Khyratee, Colonel, 48th Regiment.
" Gujja Rae, Colonel, 57th Regiment.
" Sheo Churun Singh, Colonel, 6th Regiment.
" Mandha (?) Beharee Misr, Colonel, 61st Regiment.
" Radhe Singh, Colonel, 67th Regiment.
" Surwun Singh, Colonel, 68th Regiment.
" Nyn Singh, Colonel, 71st Regiment.
" Motee Singh, Colonel, 74th Regiment.
" Mungul Singh, Colonel, ? Regiment.
" Nutha Singh, Colonel, Sikh, 2nd Regiment of Loodhiana.
" Tala Yar Khan, Colonel, 9th Regiment.

8th Irregular Cavalry.	Mohummud Shufee Khan.	Mohummud Bukht Khan, Commander-in-Chief of the Army.	Rohilkund Troops, Delhi.

*NOTE.—This must be calculated from the date of the ascension of the King to the throne.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 201.

Petition of Mohummud Oomrao Bŭhadoor to the King of Delhi.

YOUR MAJESTY'S HEREDITARY SLAVE, who hopes to experience the favors of royalty and to be restored to the jageers and titles of his ancestors, has arrived with a petition from Azeem-ood-doulah Mohummud Wuleedad Khan Buhadoor and encamped at Shahdura. He hopes that Your Majesty will graciously be pleased to permit him to enter (the city) with due honor, together with his followers (horse and foot) numbering about 1,000, so that he may attend at the Durbar the next day before noon.

Translations of documents found in the palace at Delhi—No. 2.

Despatched from Shahdura at night.

Mohummud Oomrao Buhadoor, son of Ashruf Khan.

ENCLOSURE (3) TO 201.

From the Sirdars of the Court (Kot), viz., HET LAL, Misr, Soobadar-Major; TALE YAR KHAN, Soobadar-Major; SHEO BUKSH, Misr, Soobadar-Major; JEWA RAM, Soobadar-Major Buhadoor; DHUNEE RAM, Soobadar; to the General Commander-in-Chief,—dated 12th Zeeqad (5th July).

You have managed the affairs better than was expected from your reputation, and you have exerted yourself much to introduce order into the army. You make arrangements for the fight such as no other person could have made; and from your reputation it was expected that you would root out everything that was detrimental to the troops. We were much rejoiced to know this and we placed great confidence in you. The kingdom of Delhi which has sprung up by the grace of God is in its infancy and resembles a child. We believed that God had sent you to foster this child, and relying on God we hoped that you

Ditto—No. 3.

Translations of documents found in the palace at Delhi—No. 3.

would manage the affairs of this infant kingdom in a satisfactory manner. And we rejoiced at heart at all this.

But great tact and good policy is required to rear an infant kingdom, inasmuch as all kingdoms are conducted according to "*Rajneet*" (laws of government). The great Kings that have passed away laid down laws according to "*Rajneet*" and the Sovereigns of the present times are guided in their government thereby. You are well aware that the fortune of the English was bright like the sun. But they deviated from the "*Rajneet*" and determined to subvert the religion of all. You are now an eye witness of the punishment that has fallen on them.

We now write to you to remind you that on the 10th May 1857 the power of the English was radiant as fire. But you have set at naught the troops that nobly braved that fire and put the English to the sword and the Commander-in-Chief who at the time guided the troops and led them to battle, and from the 10th May to the present time the Commanding and other officers and sepoys, who were the first to rush into these flames, have been forgotten by you. And you have considered yourself very wise.

But we are organizing a kingdom, and this can be accomplished only by managing the affairs according to "*Rajneet.*" This is a broad fact which is known to all, and you, who are so wise and sagacious, can have no difficulty in understanding this. You are well conversant with military matters. The first commander of an army is obeyed by all. Here in the first fierce struggle everything was managed by the Commander-in-Chief, Mirza Moghul, and he still directs the affairs. And first he is a Prince of high dignity and in this respect superior not only to ourselves, but to all.

Secondly, he is Commander-in-Chief,

Thirdly, he is your predecessor in the office,

so that in every respect he is your superior.

Nevertheless up to this day you have never submitted the "*Present State*" of your Brigade, nor ever asked permission

to issue any order. All this is foreign to "*Rajneet.*" If you will not obey your superiors, how will your inferiors obey you? Translations of documents found in the palace at Delhi—No. 3.

Again to-day you came with five regiments and are styled General Buhadoor, and enjoy every power. To-morrow some other person will come with 10 or 12 regiments and styled General. So you will lose your power in turn. Such will be the case if "*Rajneet*" is not observed.

We Sirdars who compose the Court have only this duty to perform, *viz.*, to see that the affairs of the kingdom are properly managed and the administration is strong and not undermined by any one's acts; that everything be conducted according to "*Rajneet*"; that the sepoys and minor officers obey the great Sirdars; and that everything is in its proper order. We have written as we thought. Send us a reply soon.

ENCLOSURE (4) TO 201.

From the Raja of Chunderee to the King of Delhi.

After compliments,—Some time ago I deputed Koonjee Misr and Murdun Singh, my servants, to bring news from Your Majesty's Court. They returned about two or three days ago and brought a letter from Syud Ubdool Ulee, together with two impressions of Your Majesty's privy seal. Your old servant has been hereby much honored and is rejoiced at his good fortune in having received this honor after the lapse of years. Ditto—No. 4.

Your Majesty has ordered me to proceed to your presence. I was desirous of proceeding at once accordingly, being anxious to carry out to the best of my ability any of your orders.

But Chunderee itself was in the possession of the English. Therefore first of all I fought with them to turn them out of Chunderee, and on the 21st Shuwwal (14th June 1857) the

Translations of documents found in the palace at Delhi—No. 4.

servants of Your Majesty were victorious. The district of Chunderee is conterminous with those of Sagur, Jubbulpoor, Hooshungabad, Nursingpoor and Nagpoor, &c., and in all these districts the rule of the English still exists. After the conquest of the district of Chunderee I attacked the district of Sagur, because the expulsion of the enemies of faith would have been difficult if the above districts were not attacked. On the 14th of Zeeqad (7th July 1857) the Purgunas of Khooraee and Khimlasa were occupied by the servants of Your Majesty and the Royal Standard was hoisted. Both these places have been incorporated by the grace of God with the dominions of Your Majesty. The enemies of faith (about 150 in number) are now garrisoned in the Fort of Sagur and possess 75 guns. I am night and day occupied in designing their expulsion. The troops of the English that were there mutinied and deserted, but it is not known where they have gone to. Although I sent my servants several times to call them, they did not come. If they had joined me all the country as far as Nagpoor would have been incorporated with the dominions of Your Majesty.

I am now fighting against the Sagur Garrison and will proceed to the presence of Your Majesty after conquering and settling this part of the country.

But in the territory of Boondelkhund it often happens that on the downfall of the Empire every man sets himself up as a Raja in his house, although up to the time of the existence of the Empire this country was in possession of my ancestors, *viz.*, Raja Ram Shah, &c. Now, however, everywhere in Boondelkhund as far as Nagpoor every man has set up as an independent Chief in his own territory. They do not desire to pay homage to Your Majesty's Government as they ought. If all these had united with me, I would have been able to have settled the affairs of this country and to have proceeded to Your Majesty's presence. From Sagur to Nagpoor the whole country is in the possession of the English as usual. And until satisfactory arrangements are made in this quarter it is not advisable to turn a single step to another direction.

Translations of documents found in the palace at Delhi—No. 4.

Therefore I send Meean Khan, my confidential agent, who will give a full account of the state of affairs of this quarter. If Your Majesty is graciously pleased to listen to his representations and issue a proclamation to the address of the Rajas and Chiefs of this country (whose names are detailed in the annexed list), calling upon them to unite with me, this country will be cleared of the infidels within a week or ten days. And if Your Majesty issues a mandate to me I could then satisfactorily settle this country and proceed to Your Majesty's presence, either after the rainy season or immediately. I request that a proclamation may be sent because each of the Chiefs of this country at present is desirous of appropriating for himself as much as he can and none of them appears to entertain any thoughts of paying allegiance to Your Majesty's Government. Indeed, they are openly and clandestinely attached to the English and are afraid of them. Some openly and others secretly aid them and supply them with information. I do not consider it advisable to give their names openly. But I will mention their names when I wait on Your Majesty. My confidential agent will also represent their names to Your Majesty.

This part of the country commands the route of the Bombay and Madras Troops, and Gwalior is the second commanding point. It is of the first importance to make arrangements regarding these two points, and the necessary orders should be issued from the Imperial Office.

My servants are stationed at Nuryaolee four coss to the west of Sagur, and they intend to make an advance.

My confidential agent will explain all about the heavy guns and disciplined troops which I have been ordered to furnish.

Seal

Raja Murdun Singh,
Raja of Chunderee.

Translations of documents found in the palace at Delhi—No. 4.

List of the Chiefs of Boondelkhund, Bughelkhund and Gondwara, &c., to whom proclamations should be issued from the Imperial Court.

Raja of Reewan.
Chief of Nagond.
Raja of Punna.
Raja of Ujegurh,
Raja of Churkharee.
Raja of Bijawur,
Chief of Chutturpoor.
Chief of Sumthur (Christian).
Raja of Jeetpoor.
Soobadar of Jhansee.
Soobadar of Jaloun.
Raja of Shahgurh.
Raja of Nagpoor.
Nawab of Bhoopal.

ENCLOSURE (5) TO 201.

The King of Delhi's order to Captain JAMES SKINNER.

Seal

Ditto—No. 5.

LET our particular and devoted servant Captain James Skinner Buhadoor know that immediately on receiving this order he is to transmit to us whatever revenue he may have collected on account of this harvest, and that in future also he is to send to us, harvest by harvest, the proceeds of the Tuppa of Ruboopoora, which is included among the Royal lands (Tuyool).

Dated 19th Rumzan 21st year (14th May 1857).

ENCLOSURE (6) TO 201.

Petition of NOWAZISH ULEE, nephew of Nawab AHMUD ULEE KHAN of Rampoor,—dated 15th May 1857 (20th Rumzan).

Ditto—No. 6.

YOUR MAJESTY'S DEVOTED SERVANT, the grandson of Nawab Ulee Mohummud Khan, Afghan, who was the particular servant of His Majesty Mohummud Shah, Badshah Ghazee, has

been in attendance for the last fifteen days, together with several followers, in the hope of obtaining service. What I desired has been now realized, *i.e.*, the Almighty has conferred on Your Majesty the Empire of Hindostan. Your Majesty's servant now hopes that at a time like the present he may be entrusted with some service, which he will perform with devotion and pray for Your Majesty's prosperity. Translations of documents found in the palace at Delhi—No. 6.

Nowazish Ulee Khan,
son of Neaz Ulee Khan
Buhadoor.

NOTE.—On the back of this petition is written the following:—Order issued directing his employment, 20th Rumzan, year 21.

ENCLOSURE (7) TO 201.

Petition of the officers of the Court, viz., JEWA RAM, Soobadar-Major Buhadoor; SEWA RAM, Misr, Soobadar-Major Buhadoor; TALE YAR KHAN, Soobadar-Major; HET LAL, Soobadar-Major; DHUNEE RAM, Soobadar (To whom not stated),—dated 10th July (17th Zeeqad).

YOUR purwana has been received in which you refer to the Royal Mandate to your address stating that the treasure which had been brought in had been expended on the daily wants of the troops and the little that remained was about to be spent, and directing the officers of the Court to make arrangements for the supply of cash. We have to submit that in our judgment the following arrangements ought to be made and the troops should be sent out :— Ditto—No. 7.

First proposal.—That a loan be taken from some banker on interest and the principal repaid with the interest after the final settlement of the affairs.

Second proposal.—Troops should be sent out to the number of one thousand and five hundred Infantry and five hundred

Translations of documents found in the palace at Delhi—No. 7.

Cavalry and two Horse Artillery guns for the purpose of settling the country. And thanahs, tehseel and dak communications should be established, so that it may be known that the King's rule has been established. And wherever Government money may have been collected it should be taken possession of by conciliation. But the troops that are sent out should be warned that they will be severely punished if they plunder or use coercion.

Firstly, we submit that both the proposals regarding the realization of money should be carried out.

Secondly, we beg that to accomplish this some Sirdar may be sent out in whom you have confidence and whom you consider capable of managing the country.

Thirdly, we submit that the Sirdar who is sent out should be warned by the Court that they have ordered that he will be severely punished by the Court if on going out he molests any poor men or zumeendar, thanahdar or tehseeldar, or takes any bribes or nuzzurs. The settlement with the zumeendars shall be made in this wise, *viz.*, that if any one produces the Tehseeldar's receipt in proof of his having paid the Government revenue, and of the village having been last settled with him, and if it should appear from a perusal of the documents produced by him and from the evidence of witnesses, such as the Kanoongoe and Putwaree and the chief man of the village, that he really was the zumeendar and the appointed lumberdar of the village, the settlement should be made with him. Should a second party come forward and urge his title to the village, his petition should be taken and an order recorded thereon informing him that his claim will be enquired into afterwards and suitable orders passed on it, but at the time of the settlement the office of lumberdar was given to the man who held it before.

Fourthly, should the Sirdar fail to make the settlement in accordance with this order, the zumeendars will be at liberty to refer their complaint to this Court, and the latter will reverse the order of the Sirdar if necessary and uphold the right of the real owner.

ENCLOSURE (8) TO 201.

Translation of a Persian document (copy) professing to be an urzee from Raja GOOLAB SINGH *to the Emperor Buhadur Shah (of Dehlee),—without date.*

THIS faithful slave, Raja Goolab Singh, after due obeisance, represents to Your Majesty that he is now 60 years old, and never hoped that the English would be turned out of the Punjab, but that now through the blessings of that Lord of Lords they have been turned out of the country and the faith of both Hindoo and Mahomedan preserved intact through the auspices of Your Majesty. This suppliant has been the servant of the Lahore Government and has eaten its salt, and has now, under the auspices of Your Majesty, possessed himself of Lahore and placed (50) fifty of the principal (Sahibs) European officers in confinement at Jummoo. His Highness the late Runjeet Singh, never, during the whole career of this slave, called him a fool or unfaithful *(beiman)*, but Raja Narindur Singh of Putiala has now stigmatized him as both.

Translations of documents found in the palace at Delhi—No. 8.

This slave has now with him in readiness innumerable troops, treasure and guns. Let Your Majesty be most graciously pleased to issue a purwana bearing the royal seal, in the name of this slave, promising him future exemption from Royal anger, and he will at once have Putiala razed to the ground. He waits Royal orders to present himself before Your Majesty and kiss the Royal feet. Umeer Dost Muhummud Khan of Kabool is a servant of Your Majesty and will attend when called upon to appear by Your Royal Highness.

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202. *From A.* BRANDRETH, *Esquire, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 66, dated Lahore, 7th October 1857.*

THE Chief Commissioner has several times mentioned in his despatches the various arrangements he has made for the administration of the districts of Hissar and Sirsa. I am now directed to report them more in detail and to solicit the

Arrangements for the administration of the Hissar and Sirsa Districts.

Arrangements for the administration of the Hissar and Sirsa Districts.

sanction of Government to the extra allowances proposed by the Chief Commissioner for Major Marsden and General Van Cortlandt.

2. When General Van Cortlandt was first sent there to restore order he was invested with the powers of a Commissioner. After recovery of the Sirsa and Hissar Districts, the Chief Commissioner directed Captain Robertson to accompany the army, as his local knowledge was of great use to General Van Cortlandt, and appointed Mr. Oliver, Assistant Superintendent, to act for Captain Robertson. Mr. Oliver has been allowed the usual acting allowance after the expiration of the first month.

3. As General Van Cortlandt's duties with the force prevented his continuing to act as Commissioner of the Sirsa District, the Chief Commissioner appointed Major Marsden, the Deputy Commissioner of Ferozepore, to carry on the duties of Commissioner and Judge of Sirsa, in addition to his other work, and the Chief Commissioner has been much pleased at the way in which he has discharged these duties.

4. Mr. Ford, a Civilian of the North-Western Provinces, was then appointed to the office of Collector of Hissar with the consent of the Commissioner of Dehli, Mr. Greathed, and Lieutenant Lewin, Assistant Commissioner of Umballa, was posted to that district as his Assistant. Lieutenant Pearse, Assistant Commissioner of Gogaira, was also attached to General Van Cortlandt.

5. The Chief Commissioner would therefore solicit Government to grant General Van Cortlandt an acting allowance of Rs. 500 per mensem from the day he entered that territory, in consideration of his services, civil and military, and of Rs. 300 to Major Marsden from the date of his taking charge of the Commissioner's Office. He also requests sanction to charge the pay of Lieutenant Pearse and Lieutenant Lewin, as well as the substantive salary of General Van Cortlandt, to the North-Western Provinces, and not against the Punjab Commission; and he would solicit the grant of Rs. 100 per mensem extra to each of the two former in consideration of the

very disturbed state of the districts in which they were employed and with regard to the satisfactory manner in which they have performed their duties. The Chief Commissioner recommends that for the present this arrangement for the management of the Sirsa and Hissar Districts continue.

6. Captain Robertson has now resumed charge of the Sirsa District, and Mr. Oliver has returned to his former post as Assistant in Fazilka.

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203. *From G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, K.C.B., Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 4161, dated Fort William, 9th October 1857.*

IN reply to your Officiating Secretary's letter dated the 7th August last, No. 35,* reporting occurrences in the Punjab and adjacent country, I am directed by the Governor-General in Council to acquaint you that copies of paragraphs 2 to 6 and paragraph 9 thereof have been sent to the Military Department for information.

*141 (Part I, page 296).

2. With reference to paragraphs 7 and 8, I am directed by His Lordship in Council to request you to convey to Captain James and to Majors Vaughan and Becher the acknowledgment of the Government for their good services and arrangements on the occasions referred to.

Acknowledgment of services of Captain James and Majors Vaughan and Becher in Yusafzai.

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204. *From A. BRANDRETH, Esquire, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 67, dated Lahore, 9th October 1857.*

IN continuation of my letter No. 63,† dated 3rd instant, I am directed to annex, for the information of the Right Hon'ble

†198 (page 83).

Correspondence regarding the affairs of Delhi.

the Governor-General in Council, further correspondence which has taken place regarding the affairs of Delhie.

Explanation of the views of Sir John Lawrence in regard to the palace at Delhi.

2. The Chief Commissioner advocated that defensive arrangements should be confined to the palace, and that quarter of Delhie in which the palace stands, mainly because he apprehended delay in the adoption of measures for pursuing the insurgents and reorganizing the administration of the country, as well as because he deprecated the destruction of that building. In his proposals to the above effect he did not contemplate that the inhabitants of the city would not be allowed to return; on the contrary, he anticipated that all but those who, it was well known, had joined in the insurrection would receive this license, subject to such restrictions as might appear expedient for the public safety.

Recommendation of Sir John Lawrence that the inhabitants of Delhi be allowed to return.

3. The Chief Commissioner, however, thinks that it would be sound policy to allow the inhabitants to return. Delhie has long been the entrepôt of a great trade and a place of much social and political importance. Its possession would, in the Chief Commissioner's judgment, in every point of view, prove more useful to us than its destruction. However guilty some of its inhabitants have been, it cannot be denied, he believes, by any impartial person that the majority were not connected with the late insurrection; and that a large section would even have sided with us had they possessed the power. They were, however, as is well known, in the hands of a merciless and lawless soldiery. They have suffered prodigiously, and it would appear therefore good policy to allow those that have survived to return to their homes.

4. If it be determined to prevent the return of the mass of the inhabitants for an indefinite period, then the simplest plan, doubtless, will be to hold the walls. But sooner or later the Chief Commissioner presumes that the people will be allowed to return; and when this time arrives, he is persuaded that the easiest and most effective arrangement will be to arm the palace walls with cannon. It seems clear that these walls are solidly constructed, and will bear the recoil of guns. A few

Suggestion that the palace walls be armed with cannon.



Photogravure.

Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, November 1907.

MAHARAJA NARINDAR SINGH,

CHIEF OF PATIALA IN 1857.

placed on the walls would overawe the inhabitants effectually, do much to prevent the chance of a disturbance, and enable us with ease to punish insurgents, should an émeute occur.

5. The Chief Commissioner believes that it will prove no difficult matter to organize an efficient Police for the city. He has already arranged for 300 Punjabees, who are now in transit by bullock train to Delhie. He has also sent down 200 dismounted sowars for Police purposes. A large and effective Police Force might be organized, the cost of which, as a perpetual memorial of the late insurrection, and as a reasonable arrangement in itself, should be borne by the citizens. The Chief Commissioner would restore the house of no owner who did not bind himself to pay this tax. It would be the commencement of a new system of taxation, and the assessment should be proportioned to the estimated rental of the property. Or if Government thought it more expedient, town duties to an equal extent, on the principle of the plan introduced into the Punjab, might be adopted.

Punitive Police suggested for the city of Delhi.

6. With reference to paragraph 7 of General Wilson's letter, I am to add that Rohtuck has already been recovered, and re-occupied by the Irregular Force under General Van Cortlandt. No resistance was attempted by the people, not even by the insurgent Mahomedans, nor by the mutinous soldiery, many of whom belong to this district.

Recovery and re-occupation of Rohtak by General Van Cortlandt.

7. The annexed is a revised return of the British Force at Delhie on the 3rd instant. It shews an aggregate of 4,918 men, of whom 3,437 are effective, exclusive of the two Moveable Columns, one of which is operating in the vicinity and is, to all intents and purposes, part of the available force. Out of these troops Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment, containing 454 men, has since marched on its return to the Punjab. Exclusive of these troops, the Jummoo Contingent is still at Delhie. And the Maharaja of Puttiala, with much public spirit, has continued the service of his force. The Chief Commissioner has arranged, however, that these, as well as the contingents of Nabah and Jheend, shall be reduced as far as may be practicable, and be employed in the districts adjacent to each Chief's territory.

Revised return of British Force at Delhi.

Suggestions for the custody of the ex-King of Delhi.

8. On the surrender of the ex-King of Delhie, it will be perceived that it was proposed to send him to the Punjab for custody. Should the Supreme Government desire it, the Chief Commissioner will be happy to undertake the charge, when we have two or three more British Regiments in the country. In some respects also the sojourn of the ex-King might prove beneficial by showing the people that he is really a prisoner. But after this has been accomplished it would be expedient, the Chief Commissioner thinks, to send him into exile to Singapore or some other island. Should it however be decided that the ex-King be kept under restraint in the Punjab, the Chief Commissioner considers that the Fort of Kangra would be the most suitable place for that purpose. In it he might be easily guarded by two or three companies of Europeans, for whom sufficient accommodation might be readily prepared.

Opinion of Sir John Lawrence regarding the trial of the Shahzadas.

9. In respect to the Shahzadas who took an active part in the present insurrection, the Chief Commissioner has expressed an opinion that they should be tried by the Commission now sitting, and that the sentences which may be awarded should be duly carried out. The ends of justice and public example appear to him to demand this course.

Operations against the Nawab of Jhajjar proposed.

10. The Chief Commissioner has further recommended that, after the accomplishment of the objects for which the Moveable Column has marched from Delhie towards Rewaree, it should be employed against the Nawab of Jhujjur, who took a decided part in the insurrection, and whose troops were actively engaged against us. This seems necessary to prevent his lands becoming the rallying point for the insurgents who are expelled from other places.

Continuance of the Gugera insurrection.

11. The insurrection still continues in the jungle wastes between Lahore and Multan. But the communication is open and the insurgents have retired into their fastnesses. It is anticipated, however, that they will ere long be obliged to submit or be punished for their recusance. The insurrection has not spread, and indeed would have been put down by this time, but that so many had committed themselves.

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 204.

From Major-General A. WILSON, Commanding Delhi Field Force, to A. BRANDRETH, Esquire, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—dated Delhi, 2nd October 1857.

Intention of General Wilson to hold the whole city of Delhi, as well as the palace, ejecting the inhabitants.

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter* of the 29th ultimo, and in reply to state, for the information of the Chief Commissioner, that I consulted with the Chief Engineer with the Force on the proposition made by the Chief Commissioner, that the city and the city walls of Delhi should be abandoned, and that our occupation of the place should be confined to the palace. I annex herewith an extract of his reply, which so entirely coincides with my own that I have determined, as the only safe military measure to adopt until the insurrection is completely put down, to hold the whole city as well as the palace, turning out the whole of the inhabitants, except a few tradespeople, who might be made useful and who would be furnished with licenses.

*Enclosure (4) to 198 (page 101).

2. With regard to the 4th paragraph of your letter, I would remark that the holding only that quarter of the city therein mentioned would take more men to defend than if we hold the whole city walls, blocking up all gates but such as are actually necessary for our own egress and ingress.

Necessity for a Police Force at Delhi.

3. We have no Police whatever of any kind for the city, and I see little prospect of being able to raise any such force for a long time. The defence of the gates and the preservation of order must be entrusted to the soldiery.

Arrangements for the settlement of Rohtak and Gurgaon.

4. With regard to your 7th paragraph, I beg to acquaint you that arrangements have been made that will, I trust, effectually settle the Rohtuck District, and a Moveable Column of 1,500 men with a Light Field Battery, two 18-pounders and two small mortars, marched this morning under Brigadier Showers to punish the Goojurs in and around Tooglukabad, Goorgaon and Rewaree; to attack and destroy Runghur insurgent horsemen said to be collected in the vicinity of the latter place; to attack also and destroy Rao Toola Ram and his follow-

ers and to raze his fort; to annex the King's jageer of Kot Kasim; and, in conjunction with the Civil officer, to settle the Goorgaon District.

5. I cannot send out any further large detachments; and small ones, as a military man, I object to hazard.

6. The Chief Commissioner has, I suspect, very little knowledge of the interior of the palace. With exception to the large courts in the centre and a few gardens, the whole place is a thickly crowded native city, giving little or no cover for troops or stores, and which would take an army of pioneers to knock down and an enormous expenditure for carriage to remove the debris.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 204.

Report by Lieutenant ALEX. TAYLOR, Offg. Chief Engineer, Delhi Field Force, on the defences of the City of Delhi,—dated Delhi, 30th September 1857.

Report by Lieutenant A. Taylor, Offg. Chief Engineer, on the defences of Delhi.

I EXAMINED the palace wall this morning along the city front.

I found screen wall in front of the Lahore Gate to be 9 feet thick at top, about 12 at foot, and about 24 feet high.

The enclosure wall of the palace is 10 feet thick at top, about 13 feet thick at foot, and about 48 feet high.

The height being so considerable, the formation of bastions to carry guns would involve a great deal of work, and with our means much time.

It appears to me most clear that the best line to defend is the city wall. That this may be done to advantage, it is, however, most necessary that all inhabitants be turned out of the city and kept out.

There can be little doubt that we would find no great difficulty in holding this line against any Native force that could be brought to attack us, and as guns mounted in the palace would aid little in defending the city wall, the construction of bastions to carry guns inside the palace enclosure might be dispensed with.

At present it would only appear to be necessary to repair the breaches we made, and to mount efficient guns on the bastions. As means became available the cover nearest to the city walls might be cleared away.

In any defence the existence inside the city walls of inhabitants, in whom we could not entirely trust, would be a very serious impediment.

ENCLOSURE (3) TO 204.

Telegraphic message from Brigadier-General NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN, *Delhie, to Sir* JOHN LAWRENCE, *Lahore,—dated Palace, 3rd October 1857.*

BY to-day's returns our force here is— Return of forces at Delhi.

	Effective.	Sick.	Wounded.
Artillery, European	287	102	56
" Native	368	76	32
Total Artillery ...	655	178	88
Engineers	612	124	31
Cavalry	67	6	...
Infantry, European	1,151	477	179
" Native	952	246	152
Total Infantry ...	2,103	723	331
Grand Total Artillery, Engineers, Cavalry, and Infantry	3,437	1,031	450

This return does not include the two Moveable Columns now absent from Delhie. Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment are warned to march on Monday next, the 5th instant.

Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment have 267 effective, 129 sick, 58 wounded,—total 454.

ENCLOSURE (4) TO 204.

Telegram from the Hon'ble Mr. READE, Agra viâ Delhi, to Chief Commissioner, Lahore,—dated 29th September 1857.

Appointment of Mr. C. B Saunders to officiate as Commissioner and Agent to the Lieutenant-Governor at Delhi.

YOUR letter to Mr. Williams of the 20th instant has been received. Mr. C. B. Saunders has been appointed to officiate as Commissioner and Agent at Delhi, and directed to refer to you, for the present, for instructions in all cases of special importance relative to districts and Native States in and adjacent to the Delhi Division. He has a discretion to except Goorgaon if a speedy communication with Agra is established. He has been appointed Special Commissioner, with the power of issuing commissions under Acts 14, 16 and 17 of 1857 in the Division.

ENCLOSURE (5) TO 204.

Telegram from C. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Delhi viâ Lursowlee, to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore,—dated 7th October 1857, 3 P.M.

Enquiry by Mr. C. B. Saunders regarding the trial of the ex-King;

GENERAL WILSON, I believe, applied for your instructions with regard to subjecting the ex-King to a trial before a Military Commission. I have never ascertained your final views on the subject. The life of the King was, by Captain Hodson, under the General's sanction, guaranteed to him. I am decidedly of opinion that he should be brought before a Military Commission, or Court of Enquiry, and that the evidence to prove his guilt should be recorded against him, and his case finally submitted for the orders of Government, it being clearly understood that his life is not to depend on the issue of the trial. I have collected ample proof, both oral and documentary, against him. The two Princes whose trial was completed yesterday, but whose sentence has not yet been made known, took up as their line of defence that they had merely acted by his orders, under compulsion. As I cannot doubt that they have

and the disposal of the Shahzadas tried but not yet sentenced.



Photogravure.

Survey of India Offices Calcutta November 1907.

RAJA SARUP SINGH,

CHIEF OF JHIND IN 1857.

been condemned to death, would you recommend that they should be respited for a brief period, to give evidence on the King's trial, or do you consider that their evidence, as against their own father, would be inadmissible or unnecessary.

ENCLOSURE (6) TO 204.

Telegram from Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, Chief Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore, to Commissioner, Delhi,—dated 8th October 1857.

IT is now 9 A.M. I have just received your message regarding the ex-King. By all means try him by a Commission and have an opinion recorded of his guilt or innocence. But pass no sentence. I intended in my message of the 25th September to convey this opinion.

Orders of Sir John Lawrence regarding the trial of the ex-King.

ENCLOSURE (7) TO 204.

Telegram from Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, Chief Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore, to Commissioner, Delhi,—dated 8th October 1857.

I FORGOT to say this morning that I would not call on the Shahzadas to give evidence against their father; nor delay the execution of whatever sentence be passed on them.

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205. *From G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 4258, dated Fort William, 9th October 1857.*

I AM directed to transmit to you, for delivery to the Chiefs noted in the margin, the accompanying khureetas from the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India, announcing the re-taking of Delhi and the imprisonment in the palace of the King, as well as the occupation by the British Force of the Lucknow Residency.

Maharaja Runbeer Singh.
" of Putiala.
Raja of Jheend.
" " Nabha.
Dost Mohumud Khan of Cabul.
Khan of Khiva.
" " Khelat.
" " Kokand.

Kharitas to Native Chiefs announcing the re-taking of Delhi and the occupation of the Lucknow Residency.

2. A copy of the khureeta is herewith sent for your information.

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 205.

Translation of khureeta to Native Chiefs.

Translation of kharita to Native Chiefs.

I HAVE the gratification of announcing to Your Highness that Delhi, the focus of the treason and revolt which for four months have harassed Hindostan, and the stronghold in which the mutinous Army of Bengal has sought to concentrate its power, has been wrested from the rebels.

The King is a close prisoner in the palace, the head-quarters of Major-General Wilson are established in the Dewan Khas, and a strong column is in pursuit of the fugitives.

The mutinous soldiery and those who are leagued with them have doubtless found encouragement to commit acts of faithlessness and rebellion in the delusive belief that India was weakly guarded by England, and that before the Government could gather together its strength against them their ends would be gained.

They are now undeceived. Before a single soldier of the many thousands who are hastening from England to uphold the supremacy of the British Power has set foot on these shores, the rebel force, where it was strongest and most united and where it had the command of unbounded military appliances, has been destroyed and scattered by an army collected within the limits of the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab alone.

The work has been done before the support of those battalions, which have been collected in Bengal from the forces of the Queen in China and in Her Majesty's Eastern Colonies, could reach Major-General Wilson's Army; and it is by the courage and endurance of that gallant army alone, by the skill, sound judgment and steady resolution of its brave Commander, and by the aid of the Chiefs of Putiala, Jheend,



Photogravure.

Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, April 1909.

RAJA BHARPUR SINGH.

CHIEF OF NABHA IN 1857.

Nabha, Jummoo and others, who have been true to their allegiance, that, under the blessing of God, the head of rebellion has been crushed, and the cause of loyalty, humanity and rightful authority vindicated.

I have also to announce to Your Highness that the army which, under the command of Major-General Sir James Outram and Major-General Havelock, was sent to the assistance of the British Forces at Lucknow is now in possession of the Residency after a signal defeat of the opposing rebel force.

Knowing your loyal feelings and your attachment to the British Government, I am sure you will be highly gratified by receipt of these tidings.

Consider me as ever anxious to hear of your good health, and continue to gratify me from time to time with accounts thereof.

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206. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 68, dated 13th October 1857.*

Appointment of Lieutenant E. L. Ommanney, 59th Regiment, Native Infantry, to the charge of the ex-King of Delhi and other State prisoners.

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner to forward, for the consideration of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, copy of a letter No. 11 of the 2nd instant from the Officiating Commissioner of Delhie soliciting that the services of Lieutenant E. L. Ommanney of the 59th Regiment Native Infantry may be placed at his disposal with a view to his being appointed to the charge of the deposed King of Delhie and other State prisoners, and also recommending that he be appointed an Assistant Commissioner on Rs. 500 per mensem from the date on which he was placed at the disposal of the Officiating Commissioner of Delhie.

2. The Chief Commissioner approves of the proposal to place Lieutenant Ommanney in charge of the deposed King

and other State prisoners on a salary of Rs. 500 per mensem, but not to his appointment as an Assistant Commissioner, and he has directed me to solicit the sanction of Government to the former arrangement.

NOTE.—For reply see 227 (page 221).

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 206.

From C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Offg. Commissioner and Agent, Lieutenant-Governor, Delhie, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 11, dated Delhie, 2nd October 1857.

Appointment of Lieutenant E. L. Ommanney, 59th Native Infantry, to the charge of the ex-King of Delhi and other State prisoners.

I HAVE the honor to report, for the information of the Chief Commissioner, that, on the apprehension of the ex-King of Delhie, I applied verbally to the General Commanding the Field Force before Delhie for the services of Lieutenant E. L. Ommanney of the 59th Native Infantry to be placed at my disposal with a view to his having the charge of the deposed King and of any other State prisoners who might from time to time be arrested.

2. I annex an extract from the Field Force Orders by Major-General Wilson, Commanding at Delhie, directing Mr. Ommanney to take charge of the King of Delhie and to place himself under my orders.

3. I deemed it necessary to obtain the services of a special officer for the duty, as the Regimental officers in command of the guard on duty over the King are relieved daily, and, being generally officers of Her Majesty's Service, are, with but few exceptions, ignorant of the language of the country, and consequently unable to communicate with the prisoner or his attendants, to ascertain their wants or redress their grievances.

4. I would beg to suggest that Mr. Ommanney may be recommended for an Assistant Commissionership on Rs. 500 per mensem from the date of the orders placing him at my disposal for the above duty. He has a competent knowledge of the native languages and has already made himself very

useful in arranging and abstracting the numerous important records of the late rebellion found in the palace, as well as in the duties of his office.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 206.

Extract from Field Force Orders.

No. 1371.—Lieutenant E. L. Ommanney, 59th Regiment Native Infantry, is appointed to the charge of the King of Delhie, under the orders of Mr. C. Saunders, Officiating Agent to Lieutenant-Governor.

Lieutenant Ommanney will have entire charge of the King, and the officer on duty over His Majesty's person is directed to comply with the arrangements that may be made for his safe custody by that officer.

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207. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 69, dated Lahore, 14th October 1857.*

Proposed removal of a regiment of European Infantry from the Pesháwar Valley.

No. 227, dated 14th July 1857 (115, Part I, page 208).

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch marginally noted, and to submit, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, copy of correspondence from the Commissioner of Peshawur regarding the removal of a regiment of European Infantry from the Peshawur Valley.

Impracticability of the measure.

2. It appears to the Chief Commissioner conclusively shown that this measure was not practicable. It was only by the presence of these troops that we maintained our possession of the country. Diminished as their effective power has been by sickness, the removal of one regiment would have been a measure of extreme hazard. At this moment the strength of the effective European Infantry barely exceeds 1,100 men,* and that of the four Punjab Regiments 2,117.

*NOTE.—The 3 regiments muster 1,597 men, of whom 495 were sick on the 11th instant.

Insecurity of our position at Peshávar from the commencement of the mutiny.

3. There can be no question indeed that from the commencement of the present mutiny our position at Peshawur has been one of extreme peril. That we have been able to maintain it at all is entirely due to the admirable arrangements of Brigadier-General S. Cotton and Colonel Edwardes, as well as to the sagacity, energy and promptitude of the much-to-be-lamented Brigadier-General Nicholson, who at the commencement of the crisis and for some time afterwards was Deputy Commissioner of Peshawur.

Intentions of Sir John Lawrence in regard to Peshávar.

4. In respect to the retention of our hold on the Peshawur Valley, it must be borne in mind that it was never proposed to surrender it until every other resource for reinforcing the Army before Delhie should have failed. Had that sacrifice become necessary, the Chief Commissioner feels persuaded that under the management of so able an officer as General Cotton it could have been carried out without loss, and that the Hindostanee Troops might have been rendered perfectly innocuous before they had passed the Indus.

5. That there was danger in the arrangement is of course undeniable. But what course of policy at that time was free from danger? Had the Army before Delhie failed in the assault, or had it been compelled to retreat, either of which calamities was not only possible, but even almost probable, what would have been the value of our tenure of Peshawur or even of the Punjab? Our last resource would have been to accumulate all our European Troops round Lahore, and to have maintained the struggle to the last extremity. It would have even been fortunate if that struggle had proved successful.

Views of Sir J. Lawrence on the question of the future occupation of the Peshávar Valley and the location of troops.

6. As regards the future occupation of the Peshawur Valley, it is a question fraught with difficulties. There is no more salubrious spot for European Troops in all India than Rawulpindee, nor one in which they are more contented and happy. With a little management, two European Regiments of Infantry can easily be sheltered there until new buildings are constructed. The new barracks have been completed for one corps, and by making the men sleep at night in their

tents, which would conduce to health, ample accommodation during the hot weather would be found. Before the rains set in, a sufficient number of additional barracks would be ready for the second regiment.

7. But as regards the accommodation of a larger body of Europeans, the case would be more difficult. The Chuch plain near Shumshabad, the present site of the cantonment of the 17th Irregular Cavalry, would probably answer very well for European soldiers. But it scarcely would be prudent to commence barracks on an extensive scale without some kind of experiment. Until places have been tried in India, it is not possible with certainty to say how they will answer. Independent, however, of these considerations, it would practically be impossible to erect sufficient accommodation for the force indicated by General Cotton, by the setting in of the ensuing rainy season. No amount of energy would admit of this being done. Material could not even be provided.

Proposed reduction of the European Garrison of Peshάwar and the location of troops at Nowshera and other places.

8. What the Chief Commissioner would be inclined to suggest is that we retain next year only one regiment of European Infantry at Peshawur, placing the Artillery in juxtaposition with it, and not, as at present, at the opposite end of cantonments. The second regiment of European Infantry should be cantoned at Nowshera, and a third might be divided between Attock and Shumshabad.

9. At Attock we have during the past four months constructed accommodation for five companies of European Infantry at a very moderate cost, and a small additional expenditure would probably enable the Engineer to add all that is of urgent necessity. Attock should, the Chief Commissioner thinks, always have European Infantry, and if this view be approved by Government, permanent barracks could be gradually constructed. The other wing of European Infantry might be sheltered in temporary barracks at Shumshabad before next hot weather, and thus enable the proper authorities to decide whether it was a suitable locality for a large European Cantonment or not.

10. Thus we should have five regiments of European Infantry within 100 miles, all of which could be brought together in a week, and with General Cotton's Waggon Train even sooner.

11. If four European Regiments are only available, three companies might be in Attock, one regiment and seven companies at Rawulpindee, and two regiments at Nowshera and Peshawur, until barracks were constructed at Shumshabad, when the two latter might be there cantoned. The withdrawal, however, of all the European Troops from the right bank of the Indus seems a measure perhaps of questionable expediency. If the European Infantry be withdrawn, so ought also the European Artillery. But after the experience of the Bengal Army it does not seem politic to place a large body of Native Troops of the different arms in close vicinity to each other, uncontrolled by European Troops. It is true that we have had for some time considerable bodies of Punjab Troops* together at Kohat; but this circumstance would only add to the danger of adopting the same course at Peshawur. We could scarcely hold the Peshawur Valley with less than five regiments of Punjab Infantry, three of Cavalry and two Field Batteries. Thus a large Native Force† would be in isolated positions, where they might easily be tampered with and could readily unite, supported by forts of some importance and a formidable river between them and us.

*3 Regiments of Infantry.
1 Regiment of Cavalry.
1 Light Field Battery.

†8 Regiments of Infantry.
4 " " Cavalry.
3 Batteries equal to eighteen 9-pounders.

Difficulties connected with the management of the frontier.

12. The question of this frontier seems to the Chief Commissioner beset with difficulties. In some respects it is one of the most important portions of the British dominions in India; but, owing to the restless, fanatic and faithless character of the people, as well as of the adjacent tribes, and the extreme difficulty of conducting military operations in these hills, our tenure has proved very expensive, troublesome, and even precarious. We cannot afford to make any mistake, mili-

tary or civil, on this border. Any such error may involve great misfortunes. Peshawur and Kohat are districts which require the presence of our ablest soldiers and most efficient administrators, and such officers are not always available. Then, again, the insalubrity of the climate of Peshawur is an immense evil. We find that all descriptions of our troops suffer from it. The mortality in European Regiments is large, and even the men who escape with their lives become permanently unfit for active service. The Hindostanee soldiers suffer equally and detest the very name of Peshawur. And even the Punjabees dread the climate. Out of 1,078 men in the 16th and 18th Regiments of Punjab Infantry, no less than 423 are at this time laid up by sickness.

13. As regards the proposed wall round the cantonment of Peshawur, the Chief Commissioner still advocates its construction. No harm has arisen from the delay, and in the event of a change in the description of troops which are to occupy Peshawur it will probably be possible to reduce the size of the cantonments. But under any circumstances the Chief Commissioner recommends that a wall be built, because he feels persuaded that it will conduce to the security of the place, and enable a small body of troops to hold it in any emergency. As it is now, in times of trouble a large portion of the force cannot take the field for fear of the cantonment being attacked and plundered.

Proposed wall round the cantonment of Pesháwar.

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 207.

From Lieutenant-Colonel H. B. EDWARDES, C. B., Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawur Division, to A. BRANDRETH, Esquire, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 872, dated Peshawur, 10th September 1857.

IN reply to your letter of 17th August (without number), I have the honor to forward copy of No. 371 of 4th September from Brigadier-General Cotton, Commanding the Peshawur Division, and of its enclosure, expressive of the Gener-

Proposed removal of a European Regiment from Pesháwar.

Views of Colonel H. B. Edwardes, Commissioner, Pesháwar.

al's opinion that the removal of an European Regiment from the Peshawur Valley, in the present crisis, is wholly impracticable.

2. To enable the Chief Commissioner and Government better to judge of our position here, I beg to subjoin a statement of the whole force in the Peshawur Valley at the present moment given in round numbers:—

REGULAR TROOPS.

Armed Europeans.

Artillery Division ... ... Peshawur Light Horse ... ... Her Majesty's 27th, 70th and 87th ...	2,500

Armed Natives.

Artillery Division ... ... Peshawur Light Horse ... ... 21st Regiment Native Infantry ... Khelat-i-Ghilzye Regiment ... 7th and 18th Irregular Cavalry Sappers	3,600

Disarmed Natives.

5th Light Cavalry ... ... 24th, 27th and 64th Regiments Native Infantry, and fragments of 51st and 55th	3,250

Irregular Punjab Troops.

5th, 6th, 8th, 18th Regiments, of which only the 5th is an old corps, rest new levies	2,500
Of 2nd Punjab Cavalry	300
Mounted Police from Derah Ishmael Khan District	100
Levies by the local Civil authorities—	
Horse	1,400
Foot	1,400
Total men ...	15,050

3. From this it will be seen that instead of the usual status of a reliable and well disciplined garrison of 12,000 men in the Peshawur Valley ready to put down insurrection or to repel invasion, we have at this moment a garrison divided against itself, one-half being engaged constantly and vigilantly in watching the other half; so that practically there is no force available to take the field; and Government is dependent for internal quiet on the people of the valley, and for external peace on Ameer Dost Mohumud Khan of Cabul. A more extraordinary spectacle was perhaps never seen on a highly warlike frontier; and we can only be grateful to Providence that has hitherto enabled us to maintain such an utterly false position without some great disaster. Proposed removal of a European Regiment from Peshávar.

4. I need scarcely add that I entirely concur in General Cotton's opinion that to remove one of our few reliable regiments from such a garrison at such a time is indeed "wholly impracticable." Concurrence of Colonel Edwardes in views of General Cotton.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 207.

From Brigadier-General SYDNEY COTTON, Commanding Peshawur Division, to Colonel H. B. EDWARDES, C. B., Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawur Division,—No. 371, dated Peshawur, 4th September 1857.

IN reply to your letter No. 802, dated 19th August 1857, forwarding copy of letter No.   of 17th idem, with enclosures, I have the honor to state that I consider the removal of an European Regiment from the Peshawur Valley in the present crisis wholly impracticable. The reasons on which I base my opinion are explained at length in the accompanying copy of my despatch No. 357, dated 24th ultimo, to the Adjutant-General of the Army. Protest of Brigadier-General Cotton against the removal of a European Regiment from Peshávar.

2. With reference to the contents of letter of the 17th August last from the Officiating Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, I beg to state that a detachment as per margin was

Sergeants	3
Corporals	6
Rank and File ...	162
Women	14
Children	3

despatched on the 25th ultimo by the new Land Transport Train organised under the sanction of the Punjab Government; among these two deaths occurred on the road,—one at Attock, resulting from inebriety, and the other owing to the emaciated state of the man from long sickness.

3. I beg to add that detachments composed of the most sickly soldiers at Peshawur will be from time to time sent by the same conveyance to Rawulpindee, when those men who have been benefited by the change of climate will be brought back from that station for duty to Peshawur.

ENCLOSURE (3) TO 207.

From Brigadier-General SYDNEY COTTON, *Commanding Peshawur Division, to the Adjutant-General of the Army, Head-Quarters,—No. 357, dated Peshawur, 24th August 1857.*

Hesitation of Brigadier-General Cotton in addressing Government regarding the garrison of Pesháwar.

I CONFESS I approach the subject of this despatch with much diffidence inasmuch that in recording my sentiments on the important matters to which it refers it is very possible I may be found to entertain opinions and views more or less at variance with those of several distinguished *Civil* and *Military* officers, who are in all and every respect immeasurably my superiors. A sense of duty, however, and an anxiety to be of use within the sphere of my own responsibilities lead me to address the Commander-in-Chief and the Government in the manner I am about to do. I have felt particularly called upon at this moment to move the authorities because the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India has recently had in contemplation the withdrawal of troops from the Peshawur Frontier.

Difficulties of his position during recent insurrection.

2. During the progress of events arising out of the general insurrection of the Native Troops of the Bengal Army I have been placed at times (in common with all others in authority) in positions of considerable difficulty, not only in preserving order and discipline amongst the large body of disaffected troops which are and have been under my charge, but in ren-

dering to Government when called on my advice and opinion on subjects of the most vital importance to the interest of the State.

Help received from Lieutenant-Colonel Edwardes, Commissioner of Pesháwar.

3. I honestly and with pleasure confess that I have in most matters been more or less guided in my determinations by the opinion of an officer generally within my reach, of distinguished talent, prompt to act and to decide, with clear perception and forethought, and as far as can be seen by present experience, of sound judgment; such are my humble opinions of Lieutenant-Colonel Edwardes, C. B., the British Commissioner of the Peshawur Frontier, with whom, as Brigadier-General Commanding the Peshawur Division latterly and as Brigadier Commanding the Peshawur District formerly, I have for some years past been associated.

4. The disarming suddenly of a large body of Native Troops in Peshawur on the 22nd May last, the immediate necessity for which arose when the troops at Hotee Murdan and Nowshera had broken out into open mutiny, and "the tenure of our position on the Peshawur Frontiers" were of all others the two most important subjects that had been brought under my consideration, and I rejoice to think that on these two questions the Commissioner (Colonel Edwardes) and I entirely coincided in opinion.

Uncertainty of our position at Pesháwar.

5. As the principal and immediate object of this despatch is to bring under the notice of Government the present uncertainty and difficulty of our position on the Peshawur frontier, I will proceed at once, not only to explain my views, but to suggest such remedies for the better government of the country in a military point of view as appears to me suited to our position and most conducive to the public good.

6. During the greater portion of the time I have served in the Peshawur District (about four years) the cantonment of Peshawur has been infested by Afreedees and Khyberees, lawless and sanguinary tribes who up to the autumn of last year committed acts of murder on Bristish subjects in and about the cantonment. Loaded sentries had been placed for several years all round this extensive station by night at intervals of

40 or 50 yards, and patrols of horse and foot were ever on the alert to check these depredations. The troops harassed and worn out by such extensive night duties suffered very severely in health, and it was last year only resolved on by the Chief Commissioner in order to save them from exposure to enclose the whole cantonment with a boundary mud wall. It was repeatedly urged on me to put in hand this extensive work (a wall of about seven miles in length), but other works of greater importance in providing good covering for the troops prevented its being done, and indeed I confess I was particularly anxious to avoid resorting to such a measure as being injurious to the health of the soldiery, in the eyes of our turbulent neighbours indicative of fear and weakness on our part, and fatal to the appearance of one of the most handsome stations in India. Strange indeed it is that almost suddenly the murders ceased altogether; good government in the district and good Police arrangements in the cantonments had worked a change in the character of the people. The sentries were withdrawn and the proposed measure of enclosing the station by a wall was happily never carried into effect: in this state of things as regards our internal and foreign relations was the cantonment of Peshawur when the disarming of the Native Troops took place on the 22nd May last. It had been observed by the Civil and Military authorities that the sepoys had been restless and unsettled; secret intelligence of seditious language being used in the bazars by the Native Troops generally had reached the Civil authorities and myself, which gave us very clearly to understand that a general revolt might at any moment be expected, and on the morning of the 22nd May last news reached the Commissioner (Colonel Edwardes) from Nowshera (26 miles from Peshawur) that the 55th Regiment Native Infantry, nearly 1,000 strong (then quartered with the 10th Irregular Cavalry), had broken out into mutiny, and that the 10th Irregular Cavalry would not act against the mutineers. The annexed return marked A* shows the strength of the force in the district of Peshawur at that moment. It was manifest, with 8,000 Native

Proposed wall round the Peshâwar Cantonment.

Abandonment of the idea.

Events of May 1857 at Peshâwar. Disarming of Native Troops, &c.

*Europeans	...	3,110
Poorbeeas	...	9,700
Total	...	12,810

Critical position on the frontier in May 1857.

Troops in the cantonment at the time, that no European Troops could be spared from hence to proceed into the district to quell the rebellion of the 55th (then stationed at Hotee Murdan and Nowshera), until masses of sepoys were disarmed and rendered powerless, and it was agreed upon to disarm them accordingly. Of the effect to be produced by the sudden measure on the security of our possessions in this quarter we were in entire ignorance. The very troops that had been placed here to keep in check the restless and turbulent people of the country, and to guard the frontiers of India from foreign invasion, were at once for our internal safety to be deprived of all power, and who could tell what would be the immediate consequences of such a measure? The people of the country round about had been invited for some days previously to serve the British Government. They paused; they awaited the turn of events. They knew well our difficulties, and until something was settled they would not come to our assistance. Still, *coûte que coûte*, the Native Troops must be disarmed, and mutiny wherever raging must be instantly put down. The disarming having been carried into effect, the people of the country at once flocked into cantonments and were engaged in the service of the British Government. The whole affair hung upon a thread; and it may be fairly asked what would have been our position at that moment had our neighbours adopted the opposite, and indeed natural, course, and taking advantage of our weakness joined in a common effort to rid the country of the Europeans? They had at all events paused and hesitated as to the course they should pursue, which speaks volumes. Then was exhibited one of the most extraordinary revolutions that could be conceived. The British Native Troops from the Provinces brought here to protect the cantonment, kept in awe, and secured in a great measure by the very people who had just been forcibly kept under British rule by the same soldiers. Various and numerous have been the indications of machinations by disaffected tribes, and fanatics beyond our frontiers, since the troops have been "disarmed," but the general good conduct of the people of the country has as yet prevailed. The delicate position in which we are placed on this frontier should not escape obser-

vation; who knows what may arise at any moment, what turn events may take? Who knows but that the neighbouring States, our ancient enemies, taking advantage of our extraordinary position and difficulties, and coming down upon us at an unexpected moment, may endeavour to wrest from our hands our long envied possessions in the Peshawur Valley? I would not have it to be supposed that I am desirous of exciting alarm and apprehensions in the Government as to any immediate difficulties that we may anticipate. Strict measures of discipline have been throughout, and are still, carried out, and at no time during my long services in the army have I seen the troops in a higher state of discipline than they are at present in Peshawur. We have only at this moment, as shown by the accompanying return marked B,* whilst guarding at least 8,000 armed and disarmed Poorbeeas, 1,277 European Infantry fit for duty, with sickness, as usual at this season, daily increasing and diminishing accordingly the number of men for duty. It is meet and right that the attention of Government should be drawn to these important facts. And again should the services of the British Troops be required to repel foreign invasion it is clear the non-reliable Poorbeeas would be at least a clog about the neck of legitimate authority, causing the utmost embarrassment, or else, which is most probable in spite of precautions, they would break away into active operations against us.

Paucity of European Troops at Peshávar.

*Poorbeeas	...	7,384
Europeans	...	1,817
Total	...	9,201

Views of Brigadier-General Cotton as to the necessity for holding on to Peshávar.

7. The second subject of importance which had been submitted for my consideration was the tenure of our position on the Peshawur Frontier, and the imperative necessity that existed for holding on at all hazards to our present position. It was no time during the revolt of the troops in the Provinces, and indeed throughout every station of the army except Peshawur, to show demonstration of weakness by a retrograde movement. We hold our possessions in British India at all times more by public opinion than by force of arms, and it was no time certainly to evince weakness in the immediate presence of those adventurous spirits who were relying on our great name

which had hitherto prevailed, had flocked in to our assistance, in the hour of need, and were willing to serve against our enemies in our own territories.

Moreover, I can confidently assure the Government that had Peshawur been abandoned at the period proposed, or at any time since the outbreak of mutiny at Meerut on the 10th May last, the Poorbeeas of the Peshawur Force, eight or ten thousand men, could not have been held in authority after crossing the river "Indus," but rushing down like a torrent on the Provinces and laying waste the intermediate country they would have swept clear every station in the Punjab, and finally would have joined and reinforced their comrades, the mutineers in the city of Delhi.

The most respectable Native officers now serving in this district have been repeatedly heard to state, whilst declaring their confidence in the loyalty of the sepoys, that no one could be responsible for their fidelity if once they crossed the Indus. These important considerations, which could not be set aside by any argument to the contrary, caused a determination on the part of the Civil authorities and myself to recommend that the tenure of the Peshawur District should be maintained at all hazards; and the Government was pleased to adhere to that recommendation. We cannot, however, be blind to the uncertainty attending our engagements to the levies, nor yet with the Sikhs and Punjabees who have flocked round our standard.

Paucity of European Troops fit for service in Pesháwar.

The Pathans have already paused and hesitated to take service under the British Government; they have already evinced a want of confidence in us thereby; and who knows when they may abandon their present intention of adhering to the British rule? The only really reliable troops in India at this moment are indeed the Europeans. I annex a paper marked C* by which it will be seen that 23 Europeans alone are reported fit for Peshawur duty

*This paper is the report of a Medical Committee assembled at Rawulpindee.

in Sind Sagur District, and there are none others on the Peshawur side of Lahore. The troops quartered at Rawulpindee and Jhelum were heretofore considered as supports to the force on the Peshawur Frontier, but latterly it is seen support no longer exists. It has ever been my opinion that the great frontier force of British India on the Peshawur side should not be located in the Peshawur Valley, the troops *en masse* being annually prostrated by malarious fever; and I think now that it would be well, when matters settle down and we can do so without causing uneasiness in the minds of our present supporters and allies, to withdraw a large portion of our troops, especially the Europeans, to the left bank of the River Indus, leaving 2,000 men or thereabouts at Peshawur and a proper proportion of reliable troops at various parts from Tohee in the Euzofzaie District near the right bank of the Indus to the mouth of the Kohat Pass; and as troops may be expected shortly to arrive from England, I would very strongly and respectfully recommend that five thousand European Infantry with a regiment of Dragoons be at once located on the plains at Shumshabad and at Rawulpindee, dividing the force into two parts between the two places: barracks being already built at Rawulpindee, capable in my opinion of affording good shelter and accommodation for two thousand men, it would be well to place a force of that amount there on that account.

Proposed reduction of the European garrison of Peshâwar owing to its unhealthiness.

Suggestions for the disposition of British Troops.

Fully sensible of the paramount importance of affording every possible support to our troops holding in check (until succour arrives from England and elsewhere) the mass of mutineers congregated in the city of Delhi, I have never until now ventured to raise my voice on the subject of the difficulties which might surround us on the Peshawur Frontier, because in such times of extraordinary embarrassment it is right that every one should do his best individually in the positions in which he is placed and that no obstruction that could be avoided should be offered to the supreme authorities, who are and must be best able to judge of the general requirements of the country.

ENCLOSURE (4) TO 207.

A.

Return showing the number of troops (European and Native) of all arms (exclusive of European Commissioned Officers) in the Peshawur District on the 22nd May 1857.

Return of Pesháwar Force, 22nd May 1857.

Detail of Europeans.		Non-Commissioned Officers.	Buglers, Drummers or Trumpeters.	Privates.	Total of all ranks.
1st Troop, 2nd Brigade, Horse Artillery...		21	4	69	94
" 3rd " " " ...		23	2	71	96
1st Company, 1st Battalion, Foot Artillery		20	4	54	78
" 2nd " " "		74	12	206	292
Her Majesty's 27th Regiment ...		95	18	838	951
" 70th " ...		88	20	607	715
" 87th " ...		86	20	771	877
Total ...		407	80	2,616	3,103
Detail of Natives.	**Native Commissioned Officers.**	**Non-Commissioned Officers.**	**Buglers, Drummers or Trumpeters.**	**Privates.**	**Total of all ranks.**
5th Regiment Light Cavalry ...	11	51	7	412	481
7th " Irregular Cavalry	16	53	4	483	556
10th " " " ...	18	60	6	497	581
18th " " " ...	14	59	6	473	552
1st Troop, 2nd Brigade, Horse Artillery	...	3	...	23	26
1st Troop, 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery	...	3	...	24	27
1st Company, 1st Battalion, Foot Artillery	...	9	...	84	93
1st Company, 2nd Battalion, Foot Artillery	3	20	...	177	200
Mountain Train Battery ...	2	10	2	82	96
21st Regiment Native Infantry ...	20	119	19	887	1,045
24th " " " ...	19	114	20	746	899
27th " " " ...	15	108	20	717	860
51st " " " ...	19	116	19	691	1,115
55th " " " ...	20	119	19	947	1,105
64th " " " ...	19	119	16	847	1,001
Khelat-i-Ghilzie Regiment ...	16	112	19	916	1,063
6th Company of Sappers and Miners	1	10	2	77	90
Total ...	193	1,085	159	8,353	9,790
Total of Europeans and Natives ...	193	1,492	239	10,969	12,893

PESHAWUR: 22nd May 1857. } A. H. BAMFIELD, LIEUT., *Officiating Major of Brigade.*

ENCLOSURE (5) TO 207.

B.

Return of Peshâwar Force, 22nd August 1857.

Return showing the number of troops (European and Native) of all arms (exclusive of European Commissioned Officers) in the Peshawur District on the 22nd August 1857.

Detail of Europeans.	Non-Commissioned Officers.	Buglers, Drummers or Trumpeters.	Privates.	Total of all ranks.
1st Troop, 2nd Brigade, Horse Artillery	23	4	63	90
4th ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,	23	2	84	109
2nd Battalion, Foot Artillery ...	74	12	201	287
Peshawur Light Horse	18	4	163	185
Her Majesty's 27th Regiment ...	56	12	431	499
,, ,, 70th ,, ...	82	18	526	626
,, ,, 87th ,, ...	70	18	532	620
Total ...	346	70	2,000	2,416

Detail of Natives.	Native Commissioned Officers.	Non-Commissioned Officers.	Buglers, Drummers or Trumpeters.	Privates.	Total of all ranks.
1st Troop, 2nd Brigade, Horse Artillery...	...	3	...	23	26
4th Troop, 2nd Brigade, Horse Artillery...	...	3	...	21	24
2nd Battalion, Foot Artillery ...	1	21	...	173	195
Mountain Train Battery ...	3	14	2	82	101
Peshawur Light Horse ...	2	8	3	89	102
5th Regiment Light Cavalry ...	8	43	4	313	368
7th ,, Irregular Cavalry	16	53	4	478	551
18th ,, ,, ,,	17	59	6	468	550
6th Company, Sappers and Miners	2	11	2	96	111
21st Regiment Native Infantry ...	20	117	21	828	986
24th ,, ,, ,, ...	16	94	16	592	718
27th ,, ,, ,, ...	11	97	19	658	785
51st ,, ,, ,, ...	18	100	19	734	871
64th ,, ,, ,, ...	16	111	15	791	933
Khelat-i-Ghilzie Regiment ...	15	109	18	895	1,037
Total ...	145	843	129	6,241	7,358
Total of Europeans and Natives	145	1,189	199	8,241	8,774

Total European Infantry Non-Commissioned, Rank and File	1,735
Deduct sick	386
Remainder fit for duty	1,349

PESHAWUR :
22nd August 1857.

A. H. BAMFIELD, LIEUT.,
Officiating Major of Brigade.

ENCLOSURE (6) TO 207.

C.

From Brigadier G. CAMPBELL, Commanding Sind Sagur District, to Captain T. WRIGHT, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General,—No. 567, dated Rawulpindee, 18th August 1857.

Report on the health of the British soldiers at Ráwalpindi and the number fit for duty at Peshâwar.

WITH reference to your communication No. 335 of date the 13th instant, directing me to convene a Medical Committee for the purpose of reporting upon the health of soldiers of Her Majesty's Regiments at this station, with the view of the men in a sound state of health, and deemed fit for duty at Peshawur by the Committee, being sent to that station, and their places taken by men who, being subjected to repeated attacks of fever at Peshawur, would by remaining at that station become quite prostrated by sickness, &c., &c.

2. I have the honor herewith to forward the proceedings, from which it appears but three (3) men of Her Majesty's 24th Regiment are deemed fit for duty at Peshawur at this season, and twenty-one (21) of Her Majesty's 27th Depôt.

3. In the event of Brigadier-General Cotton sending for these men, I have to request that those I am to receive in their place be first forwarded to this station, as under present circumstances I conceive I have not a single European whom I can safely recommend being withdrawn from Rawulpindee.

ENCLOSURE (7) TO 207.

Proceedings of a Medical Committee assembled at Rawulpindee on 14th August 1857 by order of Brigadier G. CAMPBELL, Commanding the Station.

THE Committee most minutely examined the whole of the European Infantry soldiers at this station, as directed in letter of instructions (No. 335) dated Division Head-Quarters, Peshawur, 13th August 1857.

As regards Her Majesty's 24th Foot, this examination was conducted by a personal examination of each man separately, and by enquiry into his previous medical history for past 2½ years, in order to enable the Committee to form a sound judgment.

Report on the health of the British soldiers at Ráwalpindi and the number fit for duty at Peshâwar.

The Committee are unanimously of opinion that there are but three men of 24th Regiment (named in margin) who meet the desired requirement, *viz.*, fitness for duty at Peshawur.

Private King.
" Davis.
" Driscoll.

The Committee have arrived at this conclusion because the other men have already suffered from the two last consecutive malarious fever seasons at Peshawur, which in the opinion of the Committee disqualifies them for fitness for service at Peshawur during a third year's fever season ; moreover, these men having, during the past three months (from the exigencies of the service), gone through an extraordinary exposure to solar influence, is an additional reason in the opinion of the Committee against their fitness for selection, while a portion of the Head-Quarters is comprised of weakly men, who were considered unfit to accompany their companies on service, and are altogether ineligible.

As regards Her Majesty's 27th Depôt, the Committee have minutely examined each man separately, and have selected 21 men as fit for service at Peshawur.

RICHARD CAMPBELL, SURGEON, *Her Majesty's 24th Regiment*, } *President.*

J. M. D. STOKES, SURGEON, *58th Native Infantry*,
JAMES BROWNE, ASST. SURGEON, *In Medical Charge of the Artillery.* } *Members.*

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208. *From Lieutenant E. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to Colonel H. B. EDWARDES, C.B., Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawur Division,—No. 69 B., dated Lahore, 14th October 1857.*

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 872,* dated 10th ultimo, regarding the withdrawal of a reg-

*Enclosure (1) to 207 (page 143).

iment of European Infantry from Peshawur, and to annex for your information copy of my despatch to Government on this subject.

2. The Chief Commissioner requests that you will be good enough to communicate with Brigadier S. Cotton, Commanding the Peshawur Division, and obtain that officer's opinion as to the expediency or otherwise of the Chief Commissioner's suggestions as to the cantonment of European Troops in the ensuing year at Peshawur, Nowshera, Attock, Shumshabad and Rawulpindee, and forward it with your observations to this office.

Opinions invited on the suggestions of Sir J. Lawrence for the location of European Troops at Peshâwar, Nowshera, &c.

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209. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 70, dated Lahore, 15th October 1857.*

I AM directed to submit, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, copy of correspondence on various important subjects connected with the present state of affairs.

Suggestions of Sir John Lawrence for fortifying and arming the palace at Delhi.

2. The Chief Commissioner has so fully stated his views to General Penny regarding the town and citadel of Delhie that he considers it unnecessary to add more than that he suggests that the Officiating Chief Engineer be called on to report what he considers necessary to fortify and arm the palace so as to render it a secure depôt for our treasure and munitions of war, as well as a refuge in time of danger for European families, while it will enable us to overawe and control the citizens. The Chief Commissioner feels persuaded that in every point of view it would be difficult to select a more suitable and advantageous position for a strong fortress. It commands the passage of the Jumna at the very best point for crossing that river. It furnishes us at no cost, with an *enceinte* massively and strongly constructed. The site is open and well raised, being on the high bank above the river; and the old native town in the inside will probably furnish ample material for the construction of all the public buildings which will be

Enclosures (1) and (2).

required ; so that while clearing out the area, we can be carrying on these necessary works.

Share of the Jammu Troops in the operations against Delhi.

3. Captain Lawrence's report regarding the share which the Jummoo Troops had in the capture is also submitted. Though the attack on Kishengunje failed, it was far from useless. It diverted the attention of the enemy from the principal object, the assault of the town. The ordeal to which the Jummoo soldiers were exposed was very severe, and indeed tried our own troops. It could hardly have been seriously expected, one would suppose, that the untrained, inexperienced hill men would face showers of grape from heavy guns.

Enclosures (3), (4) and (5).

Condition of the Jammu Troops and their retention in Delhi territory.

4. The Jummoo Troops have been a good deal dispirited. They made long and severe marches during the most inclement season of the year. They lost their leader, Dewan Hurri Chund, a confidential Vakeel, and many men from cholera, and they have been very anxious to return home. They are probably of no great direct advantage ; still their presence politically is useful, and there are some duties in which they can share. The Chief Commissioner therefore has explained to the Jummoo authorities that he wishes that these troops should remain for some time longer in the Delhie territory. In the meantime the Police arrangements can be carried out.

NOTE.—Five of the 6 guns the Jummoo Troops lost were recovered two days after the fight.

Acknowledgment of services of Messrs. Barnes and Ricketts by General Wilson.

5. Copy of General Wilson's testimony regarding the aid which the Army before Delhie received from the services of Mr. G. Barnes, the Commissioner of the Cis-Sutlej Division, and from Mr. G. Ricketts, the Deputy Commissioner of Loodhiana, is also furnished, as it appears to be a supplement to that officer's general report.

Enclosure (6).

Disposal of Hindustani Troops in the Punjab Division.

6. The Chief Commissioner has already solicited the attention of the Supreme Government to the large number of Hindostanee Troops in the Punjab. These men are by no means so dangerous since the fall of Delhie. And when more European Troops are available, some of these Hindostanee soldiers might, under certain conditions and restrictions, again receive

their arms. It is very desirable that all those who are not to be employed should be disposed of as soon as possible. At present they are a heavy burthen on the finances, and sadly shackle the loyal troops. Indeed, in the event of any serious disturbance we should be at our wits' end to know how to dispose of them.

Proposed dismissal of men of Native Army returning from furlough.

7. But another point has now arisen. The furlough men are beginning to return to their regiments. What shall be done with them? Many have doubtless been fighting against us, and all have neglected the first duty of a soldier, ***viz.***, to repair to his standard in the hour of danger. Now that, however, the game is up, and Delhie has fallen, all begin to pour in, every man with a ready prepared excuse for his neglect. Copy of a correspondence with General Gowan on this subject is herewith annexed. The Chief Commissioner strongly recommends that every man of them be dismissed the service and forfeit all arrears of pay.

Enclosure (7).

Special treatment of the 4th and 6th Light Cavalry

8. Especial orders will doubtless be required in regard to the Native officers and men of the 4th and 6th Light Cavalry. In both cases these soldiers were sent to their homes by Military authority. The particular circumstances of the 6th were especially reported to Government.

9. Those of the 4th did not come under the immediate cognizance of the Chief Commissioner. But it is notorious that both regiments were highly disaffected and thoroughly untrustworthy, and the Chief Commissioner trusts that with few and careful selections all the Native officers and men will be turned out of the service.

Execution of two Shahzadas at Delhi.

10. Two Shahzadas have been seized at Delhie. They were tried, found guilty of rebellion, and shot yesterday morning. The execution of such men will strike terror, and produce a salutary fear through the Mahomedan population.

Enclosure (8).

Operations of the Movable Column under Col. Greathed.

11. The Moveable Column under Colonel Greathed, after dispersing the insurgents at Boolundshahur, proceeded to

Enclosure (9).

Allygurh. There the Punjab Cavalry appear to have greatly distinguished themselves. They pursued the insurgents for five miles and killed between 3 and 400. On the succeeding night they made a sudden march on Ackrabad, surprised two noted Rajpoot leaders, and killed them with many of their men. It is to be regretted, however, that the mass of the fugitive mutineers from Delhie, after plundering the town of Hattras, made good their retreat apparently towards Furuckabad.

Operations of the Movable Column under Col. Showers.

12. The Moveable Column under Colonel Showers which marched on Rewaree appears to have done good service. Though there was no fighting, they caused the army of Toola Ram, an Aheer Chief of note, to disperse, captured all his guns, 18 in number, and considerable stores of ammunition.

Operations proposed against the Chief of Jhajjar.

13. The Mahomedan Chief of Jhujjur, a Chief whose family greatness was the creation of the British Government, had aided zealously, as is well known, in the general disaffection. His contingent were the Police sowars of the Delhie Division, and in Goorgaon and Hissar were the leaders in the mutiny. One of them shot Mr. Wedderburn, the Magistrate of Hissar, with his own hand. Sumund Khan, the father-in-law of the Nawab, was a leader of note in Delhie. Since the fall of the city and the dispersion of the mutineers, many have taken refuge in the Jhujjur territory, which lies between Rewaree and Rohtuck.

14. The Chief Commissioner therefore, at the suggestion of Mr. Saunders, recommended that an expedition should be undertaken against Jhujjur. The Military authorities having consented, the Moveable Column is to return from Rewaree *viâ* Dadree and there unite with a portion of General Van Cortlandt's Troops and the Jummoo Contingent. The united force is then to move against the Nawab, unless he instantly surrenders.

Good service rendered by the 1st Punjab Cavalry.

15. The enclosures will show that the 1st Punjab Cavalry has been doing good service in the upper portion

Enclosure (10).

of the Gangetic Doab. Some men of this regiment deserted at Delhie, and others followed their example. But all the Punjabees and many of the Hindostanees still remain faithful, and now we may hope that all will continue to do so.

16. The insurrection in Googaira still continues, but the insurgents are for the most part confined to the densest parts of the jungle on the banks of the Sutlej and Ravee. They have already made some overtures to come in, and the Chief Commissioner does not apprehend that they can long hold out. It is desirable, if possible, to punish some of them in the first instance. **Continuance of insurrection in Gugera.**

17. The mountainous tract of Huzara still continues to give the Chief Commissioner some anxiety. The inhabitants affect to disbelieve in the fall of Delhie. A small detachment has been sent to reinforce Major Becher at once, and the 21st Punjab Infantry from Jalundher has been ordered up to Huzara. This regiment can be ill-spared from these parts, but is still more necessary further west. The 12th Punjab Infantry, which had been retained at Rawulpindee for such an emergency as that in Huzara, has been called away to Peshawur in consequence of the increased sickness. Directly, however, that a couple of fresh European Regiments arrive in the Punjab from England, all will run smoothly. **State of Hazára.** **Despatch of reinforcements.**

18. Consequent on the appointment of Colonel Fraser as Chief Commissioner at Agra, the Chief Commissioner has written to that officer expressing his readiness to resign or retain the control of the Delhie territory as he may desire. **Control of Delhi territory.**

19. Since this letter was written, news has been received of a very decisive victory over the mutineers close to Agra. These are probably the Rohilkhund and Neemuch Brigades, who moved in that direction with the view of effecting a junction with the Gwalior mutineers. It would not appear by the telegram that the latter were in the engagement. **Decisive victory over the mutineers close to Agra.**

Enclosure (11).

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 209.

From Major-General N. PENNY, C. B., Commanding Meerut Division and Dehli Field Force, to Lieutenant E. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—dated Palace, Dehli, 8th October 1857.

Mode of dealing with the city of Delhi. Opinion of Major-General Penny.

I HAVE the honor to solicit the orders of Sir John Lawrence, K. C. B., Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, in reference to the city of Dehli.

Should it be the intention of Government to retain Dehli as a fortified city, I venture to propose, in the view to holding it with a reasonable garrison, the following few points for consideration :—

1st.—That several of the gateways should be built up.

2nd.—That a space round the palace walls, extending on each side to the river, should be cleared away, as may be deemed expedient in the opinion of the Engineers.

3rd.—That a broad military road should be made inside the ramparts, and to the line of houses of the city, as far round the fortifications as practicable.

4th.—That a broad military road should run the length and depth of the city, to enable troops of all arms to move as occasion may require as free as possible from molestation.

If the measures are carried out to the full, it will render Dehli hereafter safe in the keeping of comparatively a much smaller garrison than otherwise will be positively necessary to insure it at all times from revolt.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 209.

From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to Major-General PENNY, C. B., Commanding Meerut Division and Dehli Field Force,—dated Lahore, 12th October 1857.

Views of Sir John Lawrence.

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th instant regarding the mode of dealing with the city of Dehli, and to state as follows.

2. It is with much diffidence that the Chief Commissioner ventures to express an opinion on a subject of so military a character as that now before him. It may be considered that it is one with which professional officers are alone competent to deal; but as you have asked for the Chief Commissioner's opinion, and as he has formed a very decided one on the subject, he considers it his duty to state his views.

Views of Sir John Lawrence in regard to the mode of dealing with the city of Delhi.

3. Until the Supreme Government decide what shall be done with the city of Dehli, the Chief Commissioner considers it is expedient that our officers should confine their attention mainly to the secure occupation of the palace. If it be decided that Dehli shall continue a city, which the Chief Commissioner himself hopes and anticipates will be the case, he would advocate that the palace be converted into a fortress, for which, from its position and massive construction, it appears to him admirably adapted. At a moderate cost the change would probably be effected. Lieutenant Taylor in his memo. (copy of which General Wilson furnished to the Chief Commissioner) gave no data from which it could be concluded that the walls of the palace would not bear guns. On the contrary, the Chief Commissioner would gather that all that was necessary was the construction of earthen ramps and the piercing of the walls.

4. This being done, the Chief Commissioner would control the city by holding the palace as our citadel. Guns properly placed on the walls of the latter would effectually overawe the inhabitants of the town. It must be borne in mind that we held Dehli for 50 years and upwards without a single émeute, and with the most ordinary precautions would probably have continued to hold it in like manner. For upwards of 30 years we had removed all our troops from inside the walls, though we allowed both the Imperial family and our munitions of war to remain. But should the people ever again rebel, with the citadel in our hands and strongly fortified, they must be entirely at our mercy. We could bombard the whole town without the loss of a man on our side.

5. Many able officers have advocated what the Chief Commissioner thinks is a mistaken policy. This is to disman-

Views of Sir John Lawrence in regard to the mode of dealing with the city of Delhi.

tle places like the forts of Agra and Dehli and Peshawur, and construct for ourselves small forts at a distance from these cities. The Chief Commissioner thinks that we may learn something by a careful consideration of the policy which Native Princes formerly adopted. They almost invariably placed their forts so as to serve two purposes,—the first, to defend themselves from outside enemies; the second, with the view of overawing their own subjects. We have hitherto neglected the latter object. But surely, as strangers and foreigners, it is even more incumbent on us to observe the latter precaution.

6. The object of a Government is not to destroy a town, but to prevent its inhabitants from rising in rebellion. By placing a fort at a distance from a town we lose half its advantages. We can, it is true, protect ourselves in this manner, and eventually suppress insurrection. But it is at least as important to have the means of preventing as well as of punishing rebellion.

7. If the palace of Dehli be fortified in the manner above indicated, the Chief Commissioner feels persuaded that we shall have no insurrection in Dehli, and that should so improbable an event occur, it will be speedily and effectually put down. If the palace be fortified, little more will be necessary. Unless this be done, any other precaution may prove ineffectual.

8. No enemy will attempt to occupy Dehli so long as we hold the citadel. There is no enemy in India, *except our own* Native Army, who could have held it against us for any time. And even that army could not have maintained its position so long as it did but for the guns and munitions of war with which we had supplied them. But such an unfortunate train of circumstances can hardly occur again, and at any rate cannot, the Chief Commissioner conceives, be a valid argument against maintaining the fortifications of Dehli. Place our fortified buildings where we may, they will never be secure if the commonest rules of prudence be neglected.

9. Had Dehli not been a fortified city, the Chief Commissioner would not advocate that it should be fortified. But,

considering that we have expended enormous sums and many years of scientific labor on these works, considering also that it would cost a large sum to level these works, he would advocate their being maintained.

Views of Sir John Lawrence in regard to the mode of dealing with the city of Delhi.

10. A day may perhaps come when it may be expedient to hold Dehli against a foreign invader. Against such an enemy the citizens would doubtless unite; for they could anticipate nothing but desolation and ruin by his success. However, if there were any classes of which we had good grounds of suspicion, we could at any time turn them all out.

11. Dehli is not a city, the Chief Commissioner considers, that we may hold or abandon at our pleasure. The possession of Dehli is a tower of strength to us politically and morally. In any crisis we should incur much danger in order to maintain our hold. If the city, though unfortified, fell into the hands of an invader, the event would soon be known all over India, and operate disadvantageously for our interests.

12. The Chief Commissioner would not advocate that any of the gateways should be built up. Such an arrangement would inconvenience the people, without, so far as he understands the matter, adding to the security of the town.

13. Your second proposal, *i. e.*, to clear a space round the palace walls, seems calculated to be useful.

14. The third, in which you propose to construct a broad military road inside the city walls, might be advantageous, but would prove very expensive, and inflict much suffering and loss on the owners of house property.

15. The fourth, which is to intersect the length and breadth of the city by wide military roads, seems to the Chief Commissioner not necessary. The streets of Dehli are remarkably broad and well constructed. Those leading, for instance, from the palace to the Lahore and Dehli Gates and the Jumma Musjid are probably 80 feet wide.

ENCLOSURE (3) TO 209.

From Captain R. C. LAWRENCE, in Political Charge, Cashmere Auxiliary Force, to the Military Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Lahore,—dated Delhi, 5th October 1857.

Part taken by the Jammu Troops in the assault on Delhi.

I HAVE the honor to forward, for submission to the Chief Commissioner, a copy of my report regarding the operations of the 4th Column of Attack on the city of Delhi on the morning of the 14th ultimo, subsequent to my assuming the command; and I will add what occurred previous to this period, in order that the Chief Commissioner may be fully aware of the part taken by the Jummoo Troops in the assault on Delhi.

2. The guns and Cavalry with 400 Infantry were directed to occupy an Eedgah in the neighbourhood of the Subzee Mundee, for which purpose I was ordered to detach them at 4 A. M. of the 14th ultimo, whilst 800 Infantry were directed to join the 4th Column of Assault at the Subzee Mundee Picket, half an hour later.

Both parties left camp at the hours specified. Captain Dwyer, with Lieutenants Graham and Manderson, proceeded with the one destined to occupy the Eedgah; myself and Captain Mocatta with that which was directed to join the 4th Column. Captain Dwyer's proceedings are detailed in the annexed copy of his report. The 4th Column, under command of Major Reid, remained halted at the Subzee Mundee Picket until near sunrise. On advancing it was almost immediately met by a heavy fire from the enemy, who had been lying concealed behind walls, &c. The leading column was repulsed. Major Reid was wounded and went to the rear. As the next senior officer I immediately proceeded to the head of the column, leaving Captain Mocatta to bring on the Jummoo Troops. As described in my report to Major-General Wilson, I found the leading detachments of the different regiments composing the column in the utmost confusion. A great portion of them had entirely broken away to the right, and were shut out from view in the jungle. Such as remained, chiefly men of the two Goorkah Battalions, the Guides and a very few Europeans, were mingled togther; and it was utterly impos-

sible to reform them and renew the attack on the battalions. The Jummoo Troops, seeing the confusion in front, and being themselves exposed to a heavy fire, could not be prevailed on to advance. They also broke into the jungle to the right, from which they commenced a heavy fire on the enemy.

Part taken by the Jammu Troops in the assault on Delhi.

On retiring with the Goorkahs, Guides and a few Europeans, I found them thus engaged, and they did not leave the ground until ordered by me to do so. At this time the enemy were within 50 paces of the position taken by the Jummoo men, and were beaten back by them.

3. I wish to bring these facts prominently to the notice of the Chief Commissioner, that he may be able to judge to what extent the failure of the 4th Column of Assault may be attributed to deficiencies on the part of the Jummoo Troops. I feel confident that he will do justice to them, and to the European officers engaged with them. I may here add that I attribute the fact of the Jummoo Troops keeping together, as they did, and not at once retiring when they saw our Europeans beaten back, to the unremitting exertions of Captain Mocatta, the only European officer with them.

4. Without presuming to reflect upon the authorities by whom this attack was planned and organized, I consider myself called upon to give my opinion that its failure is mainly to be attributed to the defective organization of the 4th Column and to the total want of information as to the strength of the enemy likely to be opposed to it. In support of this opinion I will merely state that the 4th Column, whose duty it was to take two, if not three, batteries, situated within separate walled enclosures most difficult of access and defended by large bodies of well trained soldiers, was composed of 800 ill-disciplined, ill-armed men, and 800 of our own troops,—this latter 800 not consisting of one regiment, but being made up of detachments from seven different regiments. Three Horse Artillery guns were also attached to this column, but there being only sufficient men to man one gun, they could not be used.

Regarding the want of information as to the strength of the enemy, I was informed by Major-General Wilson and by

Major Reid that there was little or no prospect of the party destined to occupy the Eedgah meeting with serious opposition,—on the contrary, that it would be probably found empty. I was requested to caution Captain Dwyer against firing a shot; if possible, to avoid it. When Captain Dwyer got near the Eedgah, he found himself opposed to at least 2,000 men.

5. Although the attack of the column of which the Jummoo Troops formed a part failed in its object, it undoubtedly materially aided the successful assaulting columns by attracting the attention of thousands of the enemy, who would have otherwise resisted their entry into the city.

ENCLOSURE (4) TO 209.

From Captain R. C. LAWRENCE, in Political Charge, Jummoo Auxiliary Force, to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Delhi Field Force,—dated Camp Delhi, 22nd September 1857.

Operations of the Kishenganj Column of Assault on the 14th September 1857 subsequent to Major Reid being wounded.

I HAVE the honor to report, for the information of the Major-General Commanding the Delhi Field Force, the operations of the Kissungunj Column of Assault on the morning of the 14th instant subsequent to Major Reid being wounded.

2. On assuming command of the column, I found the different detachments of which it was composed so broken and disorganised by the heavy fire of the enemy that it was impossible to form them up in broken ground, and under a severe fire to renew the attack on the Kissungunj Batteries. All I could effect was to keep the enemy in check, which was done, for the course of an hour, without losing ground, in the expectation of the arrival of Artillery, for which Major Reid had made a requisition previous to his being wounded. This aid did not arrive. The enemy appeared in large numbers on our right flank. I was apprehensive that they might get into our rear and endanger the safety of the line of batteries below Hindoo Rao's house and of the camp itself. I therefore directed the troops to retire, which they did leisurely and in as good order as the nature of the ground would permit, keeping up a

heavy fire upon the enemy. I then strengthened the Subzee Mundee Picket and directed the occupation of the batteries above alluded to by detachments from the column.

Operations of the Kishengunj Column of Assault on the 14th September 1857.

3. The Jummoo Troops detached under command of Captain Dwyer for the occupation of the Eedgah met with unexpected opposition, and were totally unsuccessful. This circumstance added much to the difficulties under which the main column labored, enabling the enemy to advance on its right flank and endanger its rear, and more particularly the safety of the Subzee Mundee Picket, which was hotly pressed. Four 6-pounder guns belonging to the Cashmere Troops, detached under Captain Dwyer, were, I regret to say, captured by the enemy. The circumstance under which this misfortune occurred did not come under my personal observation. I therefore called upon Captain Dwyer for a report, which I herewith forward in original for submission to the Major-General. I concur with Captain Dwyer in considering that the detachment under his command was inadequate to oppose the force brought against it.

4. As blame may be attached to the Jummoo Troops for the loss of their guns, I feel bound to state my opinion that the portion of them attached to the Main Column behaved as well as could be expected. When tried and experienced soldiers, both European and Native, were unsuccessful, what could be looked for from undisciplined and ill-armed men such as compose the Jummoo Contingent.

The loss sustained by this force on the 14th instant, *viz.*, 22 killed and 67 wounded, which has been already reported to Major-General Wilson, shows that they shared in the danger and difficulties of the day.

In addition 4 sowars of Mounted Police were killed and 17 wounded.

5. Major-General Wilson is well aware of the strength of the position which was held by the enemy at Kissungunj, and of the nature of the ground over which the attacking force had to move. On the morning in question the enemy were pre-

pared in large numbers for an attack on their position. They had evidently received intimation that such was intended. After the attack commenced they received considerable reinforcements from the city. Under these circumstances I look with confidence to the Major-General attaching no blame to the troops engaged in this unsuccessful affair.

ENCLOSURE (5) TO 209.

From Captain H. A. DWYER, 59th Native Infantry, attached to Cashmere Force, to Captain R. C. LAWRENCE, in Political Charge, Jummoo Auxiliary Force,—dated Camp Delhi, 22nd September 1857.

Report by Captain H. A. Dwyer, Commanding a detachment of Jammu Troops, on the unsuccessful attack on the 'Idgah.

I HAVE the honor to report, for your information, that on the morning of the 14th instant I proceeded in accordance with the instructions I received, with 400 men and 4 guns of the Cashmere Force, towards the Eedgah for the purpose of occupying and holding it.

2. The road was most difficult for Artillery, and to enable the guns to get into the Rohtuck pucka road, which leads to the Eedgah, a portion of stone wall had to be levelled.

3. The noise, I believe, prepared the enemy to receive us, as on reaching the road we were attacked by about 2,000 men, who lined all the walls on the right hand side of the road.

4. We immediately opened fire with four guns and some zumboorahs, and continued to fire for about three-quarters of an hour. We had not been firing long when the Kissungunj Battery fired into us from the left, and, finding that we were getting outflanked, and that the enemy did not appear to be suffering much from our fire, owing to their protection by stone walls and jungle, I ordered an advance in view to effect an entrance into the Eedgah, if possible.

5. This advance, I am sorry to say, was not effected, notwithstanding the utmost exertions on the part of Lieutenant Tennant of the Engineers, Lieutenants Graham and Mander-

son and myself. A small body of Infantry could not be collected to support the guns, as the whole of it had, almost from the commencement, proceeded to skirmish in very extended order, contrary to my repeated orders.

6. On the order for the guns to limber up being given, no horses could be got; for while the guns were being worked the horses had been made over to grass-cutters, who took most of them away altogether. Five or six horses I saw killed; the rest were never brought back, and I was informed that they also had been killed.

7. The attempt to secure the Eedgah was, I regret to say, a complete failure; but it appears to me that the force I had was quite inadequate to effect that object.

8. A body of 100 Mounted Police which accompanied the detachment behaved admirably, and remained to the last. The ground, however, rendered it impossible for Cavalry to charge.

9. Ram Singh, one of my orderlies, killed a man by whom I was attacked, and is himself badly wounded; the other, Chunda Singh, had his horse killed.

ENCLOSURE (6) TO 209.

From Major-General A. WILSON, Commanding Delhi Field Force, to Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, K.C.B., Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—dated Delhi, 28th September 1857.

Acknowledgment by Major-General A. Wilson of the services of Messrs. Barnes and Ricketts.

IN the despatches which I have recently submitted to the superior Military authorities I have taken occasion to express the obligations I feel towards the officers of the Civil Service attached to the force under my command for the valuable aid and the assistance they have afforded me during the operations before Delhi.

2. In justice, however, to two officers, who, though not actually present in the field, have contributed so greatly by

their well directed energies to the successful issue of the siege, I feel bound to place on record the very high sense I entertain of the admirable manner in which they have, during a very critical period, conducted their responsible offices.

3. I beg therefore to bring specially to your notice the very important services rendered by the Commissioner of the Cis-Sutlej States, Mr. G. C. Barnes, to whose good government, under yourself, may be justly attributed the preservation of peace in his districts, and to whose influence with the independent Chiefs I am mainly indebted for the valuable aid of the Puttiala and Jheend Contingents, by means of which my communication with our rear has been kept open, and the safe escort of numerous convoys of stores and ammunition to the camp has been effected, and his most energetic assistant, Mr. G. H. M. Ricketts, the Deputy Commissioner at Loodiana, of whose unflagging exertions in procuring carriage, aiding the movements of troops and forwarding supplies, and of his hearty co-operation with the Magazine officer in the despatch of ammunition, I am deeply sensible, and cannot speak too highly.

ENCLOSURE (7) TO 209.

Memorandum by Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—dated Lahore, 13th October 1857.

Views of Sir John Lawrence as to the disposal of the Native officers and men of the Bengal Army returning from leave.

GENERAL GOWAN, C. B., having expressed a desire for my opinion as to the most expedient mode of disposing of Native officers and men of the Bengal Army who have been on leave, I beg to make the following remarks :—

1. These men consist of two classes, *viz.*, those which belong to regiments which have mutinied and joined in the insurrection against Government, and those of regiments which have been disarmed and prevented from joining.

2. I think that both should be similarly treated. I would order them all to return to their homes. I would receive none

of them with the exception hereafter to be noted. The names of all should be struck off the rolls of their regiments.

3. I think few people would advocate our receiving back furlough men of regiments which have actually mutinied. But there may be a doubt as respects those of regiments which have been disarmed. My reasons, however, for including both in the same category are these.

4. Every Native soldier knows well that his furlough is an indulgence, and that the State has a right to his services. This is so thoroughly known that not only did nearly all the Punjabees return to their Punjab Corps, but even Afreedies and Cabulees came down and joined. In like manner some of the Sikhs of Regiments of the Line, who could not get down to their corps, came to Lahore, reported themselves, and joined Punjab Regiments. In a few cases also Hindoostanees acted in a similar manner. And I have seen cases where such men have received certificates from the Magistrates of Districts stating that they had come forward and fought on our side. These facts prove that Native soldiers know well what is their duty.

5. The only exceptions therefore which I would admit are those alluded to in the preceding paragraph. Unless some decisive measures be taken, we shall have to provide for hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Hindoostanee sepoys, many of whom have fought against us, and all of whom have waited to see how matters were going before they thought of returning to their duty.

ENCLOSURE (8) TO 209.

Telegram from C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Delhie, to Chief Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore.

Two Shahzadas condemned to death.

IT is 6 P. M., 12th October 1857. The two Princes, Mirzas Bukhtawur and Mehndoo, have been condemned to *death* by being shot. Their execution will take place to-morrow morning outside the city.

ENCLOSURE (9) TO 209.

Telegram from the Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army, Camp Ackrabad, to Mr. G. C. BARNES, Umballa; Chief Commissioner; and General GOWAN, Lahore.

Operations of the Movable Column under Colonel Greathed.

IT is 3 P. M., 6th October. The Moveable Column marched this day to "Ackrabad," leaving a detachment at Allygurh. This place is the residence of two Rajpoot Chiefs of note, "Mungul Singh" and "Mihtab Singh," who, together with the Mahomedans, recently murdered and drove away our Native officers at Allygurh. Our Cavalry surprised the place in the morning, and both the Chiefs with nearly a hundred armed rebels were killed. Three small native guns were found in position and loaded at the house of the Chiefs, who were brothers. Their house has been blown up with the gunpowder found in it, and the town has been plundered and is now being destroyed. The body of mutineers who plundered Hattras have got so long a start that we cannot hope to overtake them, and the column will move across country towards Hattras in progress to Agra.

ENCLOSURE (10) TO 209.

From H. M. LOW, Esquire, Assistant Magistrate, to Lieutenant W. T. HUGHES, Commanding 1st Punjab Cavalry,—dated Camp Muzuffurnuggur, 20th September 1857.

Report on the part taken by a detachment of the 1st Punjab Cavalry in the operations against rebels in the Muzaffarnagar District.

FOR your information, as Commandant of the 1st Punjab Cavalry, I have the honor to report the proceedings of a portion of the regiment lately detached in the Muzuffurnuggur District with myself and Mr. Edwards, the Collector and Joint Magistrate of Muzuffurnuggur.

2. In conformity with instructions received from Mr. Spankie, the Magistrate of Saharunpore, I, on the 8th instant, marched a party, as per margin, from Romkundie to Shamlice *viâ* Muzuffurnuggur. I likewise detached a Duffadar and 5 sowars to bring up the

1 Native officer.
3 Duffadars.
1 Nishanburdar.
45 Sowars.

baggage of this detachment and a camel load of ammunition, and directed this party to proceed by the same route which I had myself taken. However I regret to say that from misdirections given by the Tehseeldar of Deobund, and through ignorance of the country, this small detail marched to Shamlee by Thana Bhawon, the direct road, which place was then in arms against the Government. On passing the latter village the party was attacked by the insurgents there assembled ; one sowar, Pertab Singh, 4th Troop, was killed ; and the camel load of ammunition fell into the hands of the enemy. The men defended their charge with gallantry, but were overpowered by numbers.

Operations in the Muzaffarnagar District in which a detachment of the 1st Punjab Cavalry took part.

3. Having effected a junction with the troops at Shamlee, with Mr. Edwards, we on the 10th September marched to Hur Hur, a disaffected village. It did not, however, offer any resistance. The place was surrounded by the Cavalry. The Infantry entered it, and made many prisoners ; Government property which had been stolen was recovered and a large quantity of arms confiscated. Whilst returning to Shamlee, a large body of the insurgents made an attempt on our baggage. These were immediately charged in gallant style by Duffadar Lutteef Khan and four sowars. The insurgents were dispersed with a loss of one killed, and another made prisoner, whom we subsequently hanged.

4. The Field Force halted three days at Shamlee in consequence of the illness of the officers in command ; during this time reinforcements arrived, and we were eventually enabled to muster the force detailed in the margin. The whole were then under the command of Captain Smith, Afghan Horse.

2 Mountain Train guns.
100 Sabres, 1st Punjab Cavalry.
60 Afghan Horse.
90 Goorkhas.
60 Sikh Infantry armed with swords.
28 Sabres of 3rd Light Cavalry.

5. Intelligence was received that the Government Police and servants at Fort Boorhanah, about 17 miles to the southward, had been slaughtered by a party under Khyrattee Khan, a noted rebel, who had proclaimed the King of Delhie and es-

Operations in the Muzaffarnagar District in which a detachment of the 1st Punjab Cavalry took part.

tablished tehseels in his name. The force, therefore, on the 14th marched against Fort Boorhanah, purposing afterwards to destroy the walled village of Jowrah, notoriously disaffected. Whilst we were on the march the people of Jowrah turned out, beating their "dhole," to the number of some 300. Captain Smith directed me to charge on the right of these, whilst he led another attack on the left. The party with me, consisting of 40 sabres of the 1st Punjab Cavalry, completely dispersed the insurgents, and this party alone killed at least 50 of their number. The village was carried by the Infantry, and the total loss of the insurgents exceeded 300.

6. The force then marched on Fort Boorhanah, which had been evacuated. We blew up the gates of the fort and rendered the place untenable. We were here joined by two Horse Artillery guns under Lieutenant Fraser and 100 Sikh Infantry under Lieutenant Johnstone.

7. On the 16th September the force again reached Shamlee, where we found that some ten hours after our departure therefrom for Fort Boorhanah the insurgents from Thana Bhawon had come down in overpowering numbers and murdered the Tehseeldar and Government servants, and ten sowars of the 1st Punjab Cavalry, eleven of whom had been left there by Mr. Edwards to strengthen the garrison, consisting of a few Burkundazes and Police. One sowar alone escaped with life, and he is fearfully wounded. All accounts agree in saying that the sowars died sword in hand fighting to the last.

8. On the 17th September, whilst the force was on its march to Thana Bhawon from Shamlee, information was received that the insurgents had moved thereform to attack Muzuffurnuggur. We therefore retraced our steps and advanced on that place, but the information proved to be false.

9. On the 19th at 6 A.M. the force, after a hard night's marching, reached Thana Bhawon. The enemy's pickets were posted at intervals along the last three miles of the road

Operations in the Muzaffarnagar District in which a detachment of the 1st Punjab Cavalry took part.

we passed over, and these fell back upon Thana Bhawon as we advanced. A body of the enemy posted in a tope were driven within the walls by a few rounds of grape, and after a short cannonade the Infantry assaulted and carried the place, capturing two guns; but from the misbehaviour of the supports, both Goorkhas and Sikhs, the assaulting party was eventually driven out of the town, with a heavy loss in killed and wounded, and the guns were recaptured by the enemy. A retreat upon Muzuffurnuggur was eventually determined on. Whilst it was being made, an attempt was made upon our baggage by a large body of horse and foot, estimated at from 1,000 to 1,500. These were charged by our Cavalry in three bodies. The Afghan Horse were led by Mr. Palmer, C. S. (Captain Smith having been wounded), and the 1st Punjab Cavalry, in two detachments, were led respectively by Mr. Melville, C. S., and myself. The insurgents were completely defeated, and pursued for upwards of two miles to the very walls of their villages, 100 of their number being left upon the field. Amongst the slain were several men of importance, who had acted as the leaders of the insurgents. In this charge I received a severe sabre wound, and two sowars of the 1st Punjab Cavalry and some Afghan Horse were likewise wounded.

10. I regret to state that, on the day of this reverse at Thana Bhawon, 3 Duffadars and 13 Sowars of your corps, whose names I enclose, deserted from the detachment with Mr. Edwards. This is most unfortunate. I attribute their defection partly to the loss of the detachment murdered at Shamlee, and partly to the hoisting of the green flag at Thana Bhawon.

11. I beg to bring to your notice, as men particularly worthy of promotion, Naib Ressaldar Bood Singh, Nishanburdar Nehal Singh, Duffadar Lutteef Khan, and Sowar Goolam Jeelanee. Your men behaved with great gallantry on every occasion when engaged, and those I have named particularly distinguished themselves by their soldierlike bearing when acting under a very heavy fire in support of our Artillery at Thana Bhawon.

ENCLOSURE (11) TO 209.

Telegram from C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Delhie, to Chief Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore.

Sudden attack by rebels on Colonel Greathed's Column at Agra.

IT is 3 P. M., 14th October. Private letters from Agra dated 12th October say Greathed's Column arrived there after two forced marches, and were informed that the enemy were across the "Kharee Nuddee," 10 miles off, retreating. They had commenced pitching their camp on the Native Infantry parade-ground, when guns opened on them from two quarters. A musketry fire commenced, and bodies of Cavalry charged both flanks. It was a complete surprise. Some confusion ensued. The Lancers, Artillery and Punjab Cavalry behaved admirably, and the Infantry also, after the first surprise. The fifth shot of the enemy was replied to by our guns. Their Cavalry cleared out of camp in 10 minutes, and their fire was nearly silenced when we pushed on down the Gwalior road, taking their camp at the 5th mile. A hot pursuit ensued to the "Kharee Nuddee," five miles more; we took every gun, 12 in number, and every cart they had. The enemy were 6,000 or 8,000 strong and lost 500 killed. Our loss 67 killed and wounded. The guns taken were four 9-pounders, our own, three 18-pounders, one 24-pounder: the rest of good native manufacture. Our troops marched 66 miles, and fought an action, in 40 hours. The Agra Garrison, now afraid of the Gwalior Troops, have pushed the column on to Dholepore.

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210. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 71, dated Lahore, 16th October 1857.*

Returns showing the strength of the new regiments and horse and foot levies in the Punjab.

I AM directed to submit, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, returns showing the strength of the new regiments and horse and foot levies in the Punjab on the 13th of October. This force numbers no less than 27,625.

2. Out of these, the 16 new Punjab Regiments muster 12,313 soldiers, most of whom have been tolerably well disciplined. Two of these 16 regiments, as has been formerly reported, are at Hissar and Meerut.

3. The mounted levies are 6,985, of whom 2,097 are serving in the North-Western Provinces.

4. The foot levies are 8,327, of whom 2,446 are also employed in the North-Western Provinces.

5. All these Native Troops are of course exclusive of the old Punjab Regiments and Military Police.

Proposed despatch of a wing of the Baluch Battalion to relieve the Guides.

6. The Chief Commissioner has now proposed to General Gowan to allow the Left Wing of the Belooch Battalion to march for Delhie to relieve the Guides, who were the first corps which moved from the Punjab to join the Army before Delhie. This regiment, as is well known, behaved nobly, and suffered severely in the various conflicts before the city. The return to the Punjab will gratify the men, and proclaim our victory all over the country.

Other movements of troops in contemplation.

7. In like manner the Chief Commissioner proposes, directly the Gogaira insurrection is over, to despatch the 1st Seikh Cavalry, a newly raised regiment, down country, bringing back the 1st Punjab Infantry, most of whose soldiers are old border men. On their arrival on the frontier, he hopes to be able to despatch two regiments of Punjab Infantry, one an old corps, the other a new one, down the country. The result of this arrangement will be to bring back for the frontier defences, to the vicinity of their own homes, about 1,500 old soldiers, and to send down 1,300 of the same stamp and 1,500 new troops, thus adding to the Native Troops in the North-West 1,300 additional soldiers.

NOTE.—For reply see 236 (page 263).

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 210.

Return of Native Troops entertained in the Punjab.

Memorandum of Native Troops entertained in the Punjab and additions to old regiments as per latest returns received.

Regiments, &c.	Date of return.	Number of all ranks.	REMARKS.
Guide Corps, Horse } Delhi ... " " Foot }	...	...	No return.
1st Seikh Irregular Cavalry, Lahore	1st October ...	583	
4th Regiment Seikh Infantry, Delhi	1st September...	124	
1st Regiment Punjab Infantry, Delhi	...	...	No return.
2nd Regiment Punjab Infantry, Delhi	10th August ...	233	
4th Regiment Punjab Infantry, Bolundshahur	...	...	No extra establishment.
7th Regiment Punjab Infantry, Meerut	15th September	797	
8th Regiment Punjab Infantry, Nowshera	1st October ...	748	
9th Regiment Punjab Infantry, Kohat	Do. ...	646	
10th Regiment Punjab Infantry, Dera Ismael Khan ...	1st September...	701	
11th Regiment Punjab Infantry, Mooltan	26th August ...	606	
12th Regiment Punjab Infantry, Rawulpindee ...	1st October ...	645	
13th Regiment Punjab Infantry, Umballa	Do. ...	727	
14th Regiment Punjab Infantry, Peshawur	...	...	No return.

Memorandum of Native Troops entertained in the Punjab and additions to old regiments as per latest returns received—concluded.

Return of Native Troops entertained in the Punjab.

Regiments, &c.	Date of return.	Number of all ranks.	REMARKS.
16th Regiment Punjab Infantry, Peshawur ...	1st October ...	646	
17th Regiment Punjab Infantry, Meean Meer ...	Do. ...	797	
18th Regiment Punjab Infantry, Peshawur ...	Do. ...	898	
19th Regiment Punjab Infantry, Rawulpindee ...	Do. ...	818	
20th Regiment Punjab Infantry, Ferozepore ...	Do. ...	695	
21st Regiment Punjab Infantry, Jullundur ...	Do. ...	794	
22nd Regiment Punjab Infantry, Loodiana ...	Do. ...	853	
23rd Regiment Punjab Infantry, Rohtuck ...	Do. ...	777	
Punjab Irregular Force Recruiting Depôt	...	...	
Recruiting Depôt, 4th Seikh Infantry	1st October ...	143	At Phillour.
Landour Levy, Landour (*sic*)	Do. ...	82	
Total ...	...	12,313	

LAHORE: *The 9th October 1857.* J. D. MACPHERSON, LT.-COL., *Military Secretary.*

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 210.

Return of Foot Levies entertained in the Punjab.

Memorandum of Foot Levies entertained in the several districts in the Punjab as per latest returns received.

Districts.	Date of return.	Number of all ranks.	Number of men entertained for North-Western Provinces.	REMARKS.
Peshawur ...	5th September	1,438	...	
Kohat	1st October ...	279	...	
Huzara	1st August ...	500	...	
Huzara Suttee Company	...	46	...	
Leia	23rd September...	253	...	
Derah Ishmail Khan	18th September...	1,193	...	
Derah Ghazee Khan	3rd October ...	338	...	
Moozuffurgurh (Khangurh)	...	...	...	
Mooltan	30th September...	24	...	
Jhung	...	...	...	
Googaira ...	1st September...	449	...	
Jhelum	1st October ...	147	...	
Sealkote... ...	Do.	456	...	
Goojranwalla ...	Do.	282	...	
Goordaspoor ...	Do.	306	65	
Jalundhur ...	Do.	170	*109	*Includes company at Phillour.
Raja Jowahir Singh's Contingent ...	Do.	613	...	In Hurrianah.
Mooltanee Irregulars	...	250	...	Under Lieutenant Lind.
Hafizoollah Khan, Hazir Khanee ...	1st October ...	170	...	In Hurrianah.
Muzbee Pioneers ...	Do.	1,013	...	At Delhie.
Seikh Artillery ...	...	About 400	...	At Delhie.
Loodiana ...	1st October ...	...	8	
Total ...	...	8,327	182	

LAHORE: } J. D. MACPHERSON,

The 9th October 1857. } *Military Secretary.*

ENCLOSURE (3) TO 210.

Memorandum of Horse Levies entertained in the several districts in the Punjab as per latest returns received.

Return of Horse Levies entertained in the Punjab.

Districts.	Date of return.	Number of all ranks.	REMARKS.
Peshawur	5th September.	1,318	
Kohat	1st October	223	
Hazara	1st August	150	
Leia	23rd September.	33	
Dera Ishmael Khan ...	1st October	1,112	
Dera Ghazee Khan ...	3rd October	306	
Mooltan	15th September.	112	
Jhung	1st October	103	
Googaira	15th August	57	
Jhelum	30th September.	63	
Rawulpindee	5th October	85	
Shahpoor	1st October	109	
Goojerat	Do.	96	
Lahore	1st August	672	Mounted Police raised by Captain Lawrence—1 Resala sent to join Guide Corps; 2½ on duty between Umballa and Delhie; 1 has gone with the Jummoo Contingent; the rest are in the Division.

Return of Horse Levies entertained in the Punjab.

Memorandum of Horse Levies entertained in the several districts in the Punjab as per latest return received—continued.

Districts.	Date of return.	Number of all ranks.	REMARKS.
Goojranwalla... ...	1st October	28	
Jullundur	30th September.	96	
Hoshyarpoor	1st October	98	
Kangra	15th September.	11	
Raja Jowahir Singh's Contingent	1st October	14	With General Van Cortlandt's Force.
Shere Mahomed Khan, Tawannah	Do.	298	Jullundur.
Surfraz Khan and Abdoollah Khan, Esa Khel ...	Do.	114	With General Van Cortlandt's Force.
Futteh Shere Khan, Tawannah ... ... Alum Shere Khan, Tawannah	Do.	332	Do. do.
Khair-ood-deen Khan, Kussooreah	Do.	112	Do. do.
Sahib Khan, Tawannah ...	...	250	Moveable Column.
Mooltanee Horse under Lieutenant Lind ...	1st October	353	At Delhie.
Mustapha Khan, Khagwanie	Do.	116	With General Van Cortlandt's Force.
Surfraz Khan, Lakkozye...	9th October	44	Do. do.
Detachment of Ressala of Door Mahomed Khan, Khagwanie ...	1st October	38	Do. do.
Hafizoollah Khan, Hazir Khanee	Do.	63	Do. do.

Memorandum of Horse Levies entertained in the several districts in the Punjab as per latest returns received—concluded.

Return of Horse Levies entertained in the Punjab.

Districts.	Date of return.	Number of all ranks.	REMARKS.
Ruza Mahomed Khan of Tak	1st October	68	Under Major Stokes at Meerut.
Mahomed Surfraz Khan ...	Do.	54	Under Major Stokes at Meerut.
Sirdar Mahomed Ufzul Khan	Do.	137	Under Major Stokes at Meerut.
Sooltan Jan's Ressala under Captain Smith ...	Do.	112	On duty at Meerut.
Ressala attached to 21st Regiment Punjab Infantry	Do.	68	Under Captain H. S. Obbard.
Meer Moobaruk Shah's Ressala with 1st Regiment Punjab Infantry ...	1st August	80	At Delhie.
Oosman Khan's Ressala from Ferozepoor ...	1st October	60	With General Van Cortlandt's Force.
Total ...	...	6,985	
			ABSTRACT.
			Serving in Punjab 4,888
			Beyond the limits of Punjab ... 2,097
			Total ... 6,985

LAHORE:
The 13th October 1857.

J. D. MACPHERSON,
Military Secretary.

ENCLOSURE (4) TO 210.

Abstract of total strength of troops raised.

Abstract showing total strength of new establishments raised in the Punjab, during the present emergency, as per accompanying returns.

Military—

Troops	...	...	... 12,313
Mounted Levies		...	... 6,985
Foot Levies ...		...	... 8,327
		Total	... 27,625

J. D. MACPHERSON, LIEUT.-COL.,
Military Secretary.

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211. *From G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, K.C.B., Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—Circular No. 308, dated Fort William, 19th October 1857.*

Prevention of European adventurers from penetrating into the interior of India and joining the rebels.

UNDER the present circumstances of India the Governor-General in Council deems it of the utmost importance that vigilant measures should be adopted for preventing any subject of a Foreign State from penetrating into the interior and from entering the country except at one of the Presidency Capitals, where there are the means of keeping all suspected persons under strict surveillance.

2. This prohibition is applicable to the subjects of Foreign European States, and it is especially meant to apply to Foreign Military officers or adventurers who may hope to find employment with rebels or with independent Indian States.

3. His Lordship in Council is therefore pleased to direct that you will at once adopt such measures as may be necessary to carry out the above object within the circle of your supervision.

212. *Telegram from Offg. Commissioner, Delhi, to Chief Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore,—dated 20th October 1857.*

Congratulations of Government on the capture of Delhi. Orders for the demolition of the defences of Delhi.

It is 9 A.M., 20th October. The following from the Foreign Secretary to Government has been transmitted by Captain Bruce, Cawnpore, on the 12th instant to General Wilson, Commanding at Delhi:—"Calcutta, 10th October 1857. The Governor-General in Council received yesterday your despatch of the 21st ultimo, those of previous dates having before reached him. The Governor-General in Council heartily congratulates you and your brave army on the brilliant success which you have achieved. You have nobly earned it. The Governor-General in Council desires that you will at once proceed to demolish the defences of Delhi, spare places of worship, tombs and all ancient buildings of interest. You will blow up or otherwise destroy all the fortifications, and you will so far destroy the walls and gates of the city as to make them useless for defences. As you will not be able to do this completely with the force at present available at Delhi, you will select the point at which the work may be commenced with best effect and operate there. If, as has been reported to Governor-General in Council, the King of Delhi has received from any British officer a promise that his life will be spared, you are desired to send him to Allahabad under an escort as soon as this can safely be done. The escort must be strong enough to resist all attempt at rescue, and must consist in part of European Infantry and Cavalry with some field guns. Any member of the King's family who is included in the promise is to be sent with the King. You will appoint one or two officers specially to take charge of the King, who is to be exposed to no indignity or needless hardship. If no promise of his life has been given to the King, he is to be brought to trial under Act XIV of 1857. The special Commissioners appointed for this purpose are Mr. Montgomery, Judicial Commissioner of the Punjab, Mr. G. C. Barnes, Commissioner of the Cis-Sutlej, and Major Lake, Commissioner of the Trans-Sutlej, States. Summon these officers at once to Delhi. In event of a trial of the King taking place Mr. C. B. Saunders will act as prosecutor, will collect the evidence and frame the charges. Should the King be found

Instructions regarding the course to be pursued with the King.

guilty the sentence is to be carried out without further reference to the Governor-General in Council. In the event of the King being brought to trial, the Commissioners must allow him a week or other reasonable period to prepare his defence and to select some person to conduct it. On his failure to do so, the Commissioners will appoint British officers to conduct the King's defence. Instructions to this effect, together with the requisite Commission under the signature of the Governor-General in Council, will be sent to Cawnpore for transmission by cossid to the Commissioner at Delhi. You are requested to inform the Governor-General in Council as expeditiously as possible whether any promises have been made to the King that his life will be spared. Signed H. Bruce." With reference to the above what are your instructions relative to bringing the King before a Commission as before arranged? Shall General Penny carry out the Governor-General's instructions with regard to the destructions to the fortifications at once or wait for further orders?

Application of Mr. C. B. Saunders for orders regarding the trial of the King and demolition of the defences of Delhi.

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213. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 72, dated Lahore, 20th October 1857.*

IN continuation of my letter No. 70* of the 15th instant, I am directed to make the following report on passing events in the Punjab and Upper India.

*209 (page 157).

Continuance of insurrection in Gugera.

2. The insurrection in the Googaira District has not yet been put down. But it is mainly confined to the dense jungle on the banks of the Ravee. The insurgent Khattias and Fatwanas have made overtures to come in, which it is not deemed expedient to accept until they have been punished. The Wuttoos and Khurruls, however, have been allowed terms. They have given up their arms and are settling down. On the 15th instant a detachment of Major Jackson's Regiment, the 2nd Irregulars, and a small body of the 2nd Punjab Infantry consisting of Hindostanees, defeated a considerable force of the insurgents, killing no less than 70 of them.

Defeat of a body of rebels by a detachment under Major Jackson.

Enclosures (1) and (2).

3. In the Peshawur Valley also a company of the Khelat-i-Ghilzi Regiment and a small party of the 7th Irregular Cavalry did some service in repulsing an inroad of the Hill Momunds on the Mitchni Frontier. Both these affairs show the change which the fall of Delhie has made in the feelings and conduct of some of the Hindostanee soldiery.

Repulse of inroad of Hill Mohmands on the Michni Frontier.

4. The operations of the Moveable Column in the Delhie Division have been successful as was anticipated. The guns and munitions of war of both the Nawab of Bahadurgurh and the Nawab of Jhujjur have been all seized with apparently no opposition. The Delhie territory may now be considered completely recovered. We have only to disarm the people and gather up the most notorious of the delinquents. Hakeem Abdool Huq, the rebel Viceroy of Goorgaon; Newab Hoossain Khan, a British pensioner, who raised and commanded a regiment for the mutineers; Newab Ahmed Kuli Khan, the father-in-law of the ex-King; and the Newab of Jhujjur are all under arrest. The Newab Ameen-oo-deen Khan of Loharoo and his brother Zeea-oo-deen have also been surrendered by the Nawab of Dojana.

Enclosures (3) and (4).

Success of the operations of the Movable Column in the Delhi Division.

5. The result of the action near Agra appears to have been most satisfactory. Copy of Colonel Greathed's despatch will be found in the appendix. The weak squadron of the 1st Punjab Cavalry under Lieutenant Watson seems to have behaved with great gallantry, capturing four guns.

Enclosures (5) and (6).

Result of action near Agra.

6.–7. [*These paragraphs relate to Prize property at Delhi and will be found in Chapter VIII, page 270.*]

8. The Chief Commissioner submits a correspondence* connected with a proposed expedition with the view of recovering the Province of Rohilkhund. It will be seen that he was averse to the attempt. He considers that we have not as yet adequate available means for such an enterprize. It will not, he believes, be expedient to enter Rohilkhund except with a force which can bear down all opposition; and this force we

*Not printed.

Objection of Sir John Lawrence to the expedition proposed for recovering Rohilkhand.

should be in a condition to retain in the Province. By attempting too much, we may weaken ourselves, and give an opportunity to the disaffected in the Gangetic Doab to renew the struggle. If our people in the Hill Sanitarium of Nynee Tal are threatened, they should send all the women and children to Mussooree or Landour.

9. We may anticipate very considerable opposition in Rohilkhund. The people are a martial and bigoted race. It is the last stronghold in Hindostan of the fugitive mutineers of the Mahomedan persuasion. A force of full 2 regiments of European Infantry, 2 of good reliable Native Infantry, 1,000 horsemen, and from 12 to 18 guns seems necessary to secure immediate success.

NOTE.—For reply see 237 (page 263).

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 213.

From Major G. JACKSON, Commanding a Detachment, to Lieutenant-Colonel J. D. MACPHERSON, Military Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 173, dated Camp Mullooka, 16th October 1857.

Defeat of a body of rebels in the Gugera District by Major G. Jackson.

I HAVE the honor to report, for the information of the Chief Commissioner, that I arrived at this place yesterday morning. In the afternoon, information being brought that a village 3 coss off was being plundered, I detached a party of 25 sowars under a Native officer, but on receiving a message from him that the insurgents were in force of some hundreds, I strengthened his party to 69 sowars and 20 Punjab Infantry.

With these the Native officers* attacked and cut up 70. Night set in before the affair was over, and the wounded got into the jungle, but the Native officers deserve great credit for the manner they handled the insurgents.

*Naib Resaldar Jaffer Khan, Naib Resaldar Mucka Singh, } 2nd Irregular Cavalry.
Jemadar Isree Singh, 2nd Punjab Infantry.

Four prisoners were brought in and shot this morning. Three sowars, 2nd Irregular Cavalry, and one sepoy, Punjab Infantry, were badly wounded. Defeat of a body of rebels in the Gugera District.

P. S.—Four more wounded prisoners just brought in.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 213.

From Lieutenant-Colonel J. D. MACPHERSON, Military Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to Major JACKSON, Commanding Detachment on Field Service at Mullooka viâ Googaira,—No. 6581, dated Lahore, 19th October 1857.

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 173,* dated 16th current, reporting an attack by a party of 69 sowars of the 2nd Irregular Cavalry under Naib Resaldars Jaffer Khan and Mucka Singh, and 20 Punjab Infantry under Jemadar Isree Singh of the 2nd Regiment Punjab Infantry, on a very numerous band of the insurgents of the Lower Ravee. The Chief Commissioner is much gratified at this report, and requests that you will inform the three Native officers that he is highly pleased with the gallantry and good conduct displayed by them and their men in this affair. Acknowledgment of services of Native officers.

*Enclosure (1) to 213 (page 190).

ENCLOSURE (3) TO 213.

Telegram from C. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Delhi, to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore.

IT is 7 P.M., 18th October. I have induced the King to give up his Crown jewels to-day. They are valued at a lakh of rupees, and are placed under my seal in a strong box of the Prize Agent, pending the receipt of the Government instructions as to their ultimate disposal. Surrender of Crown jewels by the King. I have heard from your brother to-day from Dadree. The column is to be at Jhujjur to-day. They had taken all the guns and munitions of war belonging to the Nawab of Bahadoorgurh at the former place, but had not then arrested the Nawab for fear of making the Jhujjur men bolt. Progress of the force sent to Jhajjar.

ENCLOSURE (4) TO 213.

Telegram from C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Delhi, to Chief Commissioner, Lahore, and Commissioners, Jullundur and Umballa,—dated 19th October 1857.

Arrest of the Nawab of Jhajjar.

A LETTER from Brigadier Showers reports the arrest of the Nawab of Jhujjur on the 17th at Choochukwas, his "Shikargah." The Moveable Column marched on to Jhujjur, which they found all but deserted, his troops having fled. 21 guns were taken with a large quantity of powder and munitions of war. A detachment of Cavalry had before been detached to "Naldur," to cut off any fugitives who might attempt to take refuge in the fort of "Kanound." Captain Sandford reports having cut up all they could overtake. Brigadier Showers had subsequently detached a squadron of the 6th Dragoon Guards and Hodson's Force to "Kanound" under Colonel Custance, to obtain possession of that fort, and the treasure, guns, arms, &c., contained in it before the former could be occupied in force by the fugitives. The Moveable Column marched in the same direction yesterday evening. No letter yet in from Captain Lawrence.

Despatch of a force against the Fort of Kanaud.

ENCLOSURE (5) TO 213.

From Major-General N. PENNY, Commanding Field Force, to Major PRIOR, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Lahore,—No. 1594, dated Delhi, 16th October 1857.

Engagement with the rebels in the cantonment of Agra on the 10th September.

I HAVE the honor to forward herewith a copy of Colonel Greathed's report of his engagement with the rebels in the cantonment of Agra on the 10th instant.

It is gratifying to know that all the enemy's guns were captured, though the return alluded to in Colonel Greathed's letter has not come to hand. I am given to understand that they were twelve in number, and some of them of heavy ordnance.

The conduct of the troops engaged seems to have been admirable in every respect, and will, I trust, meet with the approbation of Major-General Gowan.



Photogravure.

Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, November, 1907.

ABDUL RAHMAN KHAN,

NAWAB OF JHAJJAR.

EXECUTED ON THE 23RD DECEMBER, 1857, FOR TREASON AND REBELLION AGAINST THE BRITISH GOVT

(From a painting.)

ENCLOSURE (6) TO 213.

Report by Lieutenant-Colonel E. H. GREATHED, Commanding Moveable Column,—dated Camp Agra, 11th October 1857.

Colonel Greathed's report on the engagement at Agra.

I HAVE the honor to acquaint you, for the information of the Major-General Commanding, that in consequence of urgent letters from Agra I marched from Hattras at 6 P. M. on the 9th, carrying the European Infantry on elephants and carts, and encamped on the Brigade parade-ground at this place about 8 A. M. Yesterday, at half past 10 o'clock, my camp was suddenly attacked on the front and right flank. I galloped to the front and found the Artillery getting into action and Her Majesty's 9th Lancers in the saddle. I proceeded myself with Her Majesty's 8th Regiment and the 4th Punjab Infantry to the right flank for the purpose of dislodging the enemy and taking their guns, which were raking our camp. On the way I took with me the 1st, 2nd and 5th Punjab Cavalry, extending the Infantry in skirmishing order with their supports. I took the Cavalry to the open space near the European Infantry Barracks, with directions to move as circumstances would permit. The 9-pounder Agra Battery had by this time come up. I advanced them in support of the Infantry on the road leading from the Artillery parade-ground to the Dholepore road, and the skirmishers advanced and cleared the compounds to their front; the Punjab Cavalry under Lieutenant Watson had then the opportunity of making a most gallant charge, driving off the enemy's sowars and capturing four guns. After this the rebels made no stand on the right, but the left continued to be hotly engaged and the enemy's sowars advanced with great determination on the guns, one of which was disabled from its gunners having been cut down, and for the moment in the possession of the enemy. It was, however, instantly recaptured, and the 9th Lancers charged the sowars and drove them from the field. I regret to say that two most excellent officers, Lieutenants French and Jones, were wounded, the former mortally, and I fear that little hope can be entertained of the recovery of Lieutenant Jones. I advanced during this time on the Dholepore road,

Colonel Greathed's report on the engagement at Agra.

capturing guns as we went on, and the 9th Lancers and Artillery supported by the 75th and 2nd Punjab Infantry advanced on the left, taking four guns on their way. The whole line now moved to the front, the Punjab Cavalry, as usual, performing most excellent service on the flanks, till we reached a village three miles from hence, where we halted for a short time, the whole of the enemy being then in full flight. We were now joined by the 3rd Europeans, and Colonel Cotton, Commanding at Agra, came up and took command of the whole of the troops. The enemy's camp was descried about two miles in advance, and we marched upon it, the road strewed in all directions with baggage and carts. The Infantry was ordered to halt at the camp, and the Cavalry and Artillery pursued the enemy to the Kharee Nuddee, 10½ miles from Agra. The enemy had crossed the river before we reached it, leaving behind him all his guns, a return of which is attached. The Artillery fired grape and round shot at the retreating enemy across the river with good effect. The country all round was covered with fugitives of whom a large number were cut up. They have all now crossed the Kharee Nuddee. After a short halt we returned to camp, and the captured guns were all brought in during the night. I have not been able to estimate the enemy's numbers, as in addition to the Indore Force and the Neemuch and Nusseerabad Brigades, sepoys were found killed belonging to 16th Grenadiers, Hurreanah Light Infantry, Gwalior Contingent and several others. The whole country as far as one could see was covered with fugitives, but of these many were probably camp-followers and rabble. I have never seen such a rout, and had our Artillery and Cavalry been fresh, few would have crossed the Kharee Nuddee, but they had marched 41 miles in less than 30 hours before arriving at Agra. It is impossible to say too much of the excellent conduct of the whole of the troops, officers and men, and I trust it will meet with the approbation of the Major-General Commanding the Field Force at Delhi.

It is my intention, as soon as I have been joined by the detachment now on its way from Delhi, to proceed towards

Futtyghur with a view of effecting a junction with General Havelock's Force, subject to the approbation of General Penny.

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214. *Telegram from Sir* JOHN LAWRENCE, *Chief Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore, to Commissioner, Delhy,—dated Lahore, 21st October 1857.*

I HAVE received your message* of the 20th. The King's life having been guaranteed, there can be no object in sending down the three officers named by Government, and I can ill-spare their services at present.

Trial of the ex-King,

*212 (page 187).

As regards the fortifications of the town, I should be glad if General Penny would delay their destruction until Government can receive and give orders on my despatches of the 9th and 15th of October.

Postponement of the demolition of the fortifications of Delhi.

I do not think that any danger by delay could arise. If the fortifications be dismantled I would suggest that it be done, as was the case at Lahore. We filled in the ditch by cutting down the glacis and lowered the wall and dismantled the covering works in front of the gates and the bastions. A wall of 10 or 12 feet high could do no harm, and would be very useful for Police purposes. Delhy without any wall would be exposed to constant depredations from the Meenas and Goojurs and other predatory races. Even such a partial demolition will cost several lakhs of rupees and take a long time. At Lahore it cost about two lakhs and occupied upwards of two years.

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215. *From* G. F. EDMONSTONE, *Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to Sir* JOHN LAWRENCE, *K.C.B., Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 4300, dated Fort William, 23rd October 1857 (received 2nd December 1857).*

I AM directed to acknowledge receipt of your Secretary's letter No. 36† of the 12th August, with its enclosure, from the

†148 (Part I, page 312).

Objections of Government to the orders offering a reward for the apprehension of mutineers "dead or alive."

Judicial Commissioner, in reply to the remarks made by this Government on the offer of a reward for the apprehension of mutineers "dead or alive."

2. The Judicial Commissioner states that the only instance in which he issued any order offering such rewards was on the occasion of the outbreak at Jullundhur, when he addressed the Chiefs of the Cis-Sultej States, calling on them to raise the population against the mutineers and informing them that a reward of Rs. 50 would be given for every mutineer killed with arms and Rs. 20 if without arms.

3. This proclamation, however, Mr. Montgomery explains, never reached the Chiefs as the messenger fell into the hands of the mutineers and he believes its tenor would not, under the circumstances, be considered objectionable.

4. I am desired by the Governor-General in Council to state that the observations of Government on this subject were made on receipt from Lahore of the demi-official report of the 8th June, which detailed the Jullundhur mutiny, and mentioned the issue of the proclamation above referred to.

5. This proclamation the Governor-General in Council still considers obnoxious to the remarks then made on it, but His Lordship in Council is glad to learn that it was restricted to a particular locality, and that no general proclamation of this nature has been issued in the Punjab.

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216. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 73, dated 24th October 1857.*

Views of Sir John Lawrence as to the best mode of dealing with the defences of Delhi.

IN continuation of my letter No. 70,* dated the 15th instant, I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to submit copy of the correspondence marginally noted† from General Penny regarding the best mode of dealing with the fortifications of the city and palace of Delhy.

*209 (page 157).

†Letter from Major-General Penny dated 18th October 1857, and memo. by the Chief Engineer, Delhy Field Force, dated 17th idem.

2. It appears to the Chief Commissioner that there are military as well as political advantages to be secured by maintaining the fortifications of the one and by adding to those of the other. We may never require to use the former; those of the latter would always prove useful, simply in overawing the population of a great Mahomedan city, and by giving us a spacious and secure magazine for our munitions of war.

3. The Chief Commissioner feels persuaded that with the palace properly fortified it would in the last degree be improbable that the people of Delhy would ever rebel, and that if they should do so, they would be completely at our mercy. Infinitely more so than if we blew up both the palace and the fortifications of the town. For even an open town when so large and populous as Delhy is not to be safely coerced without bringing against the inhabitants a considerable amount of heavy Artillery, all of which, with no arsenal at Delhy, must come from some distance, or from the other side of the Jumna.

4. If ever the city of Delhy be threatened by a foreign enemy such as we could not oppose in the field, we should always have time to strengthen the fortifications in the manner suggested by Captain Taylor.

5. For these reasons the Chief Commissioner advocates that Government should fortify the palace and simply maintain the fortifications of the town. And even if Government finally decide on destroying the fortifications of the town he would still recommend that the palace should be fortified and occupied by a garrison.

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 216.

From Major-General N. PENNY, Commanding Delhi Field Force, to Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—dated Palace, Delhi, 18th October 1857.

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th instant, and I beg you will assure Sir John

Reference from General Penny regarding the defences of Delhi.

Lawrence, K. C. B., Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, that I am at all times prepared to receive his opinions with respect.

I transmit the accompanying copy of a memorandum from Captain Taylor, Chief Engineer, regarding the defences of Delhi, which I request you will be good enough to submit to the Chief Commissioner.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 216.

Memorandum by Captain A. M. TAYLOR, Chief Engineer, Delhi Field Force, regarding the defences of Delhi,—dated 17th October 1857.

Memorandum by Captain A. M. Taylor, Chief Engineer, regarding the defences of Delhi.

As regards overawing the inhabitants of the city :—The obvious plan is a display of the power of coercing. I think this would be best effected by mounting 20 to 30 heavy guns on the palace walls. *It would be necessary to widen the palace walls, where guns are to be mounted, by 18 feet at least.*

Mortars would be valuable aids *in coercing*, but would be of little use in overawing.

As regards coercing a large body of armed men in the city :—Such a rising should be impossible. Should it ever be made by determined men, quick and forcible coercion would not be easy.

The measures that might now be taken to facilitate such an operation are—

(1) To remove all obstacles such as doors and gateways in the city thoroughfares and to render these as free of obstructions of every kind as possible.

(2) To deplode (? defilade) the bastions from musketry fire from the houses by masonry walls of sufficient height across their gorges.

Memorandum by Captain A. M. Taylor, Chief Engineer, regarding the defences of Delhi.

These two measures would not be very expensive, and in a military point of view might be at once* carried out with advantage. The further measures that might be at present taken are—

*As soon as it has been decided that the city is to be held.

(3) Opening roads from the heart of the city leading to the guns on the palace walls and to the bastions.

(4) Building a wall on the inner side of the ramparts so as to give between the bastions a passage covered from musketry from the houses.

As regards an attack from the outside:—Must be met on the city line of defences, no matter what the strength of the garrison. Should these be forced, the palace, if fortified, would enable the garrison to prolong the defence, and if it covered the bridge-of-boats, eventually to withdraw when further defence became impracticable. The defences round the city are weak—

(1) The bastions are so confined that a powerful Artillery fire cannot be brought on the besieger's works.

(2) The glacis is not high enough. From breaching batteries the wall could be seen to within four feet of its base.

(3) Cover exists much too close to the walls.

The best remedy for No. (1) would probably be to widen at intervals the *terreplein* of the curtain ramparts to about 50 feet. This would admit of guns being quickly mounted if required. The remedy for No. (2) and for No. (3) is obvious. No cover for a besieger should be left within 700 yards. The palace evidently, no matter to what extent fortified, could not aid very materially in the defence of the city walls.

Should we ever be driven from the city works, it would necessarily be by an enemy very superior in point of numbers. Against such an enemy any very prolonged defence of the city would not be practicable. To admit of the fort being held against him even for a limited time, it is necessary—

(1) To clear a space all round the place 300 yards wide.

Memorandum by Captain A. M. Taylor, Chief Engineer, regarding the defences of Delhi.

(2) Put a glacis all round the land front, but leaving a covered way 50 feet wide. In this many guns might be mounted when required, and the besiegers could not take the place without first establishing breaching batteries on the crest of the glacis.

(3) I think that it will be found necessary with a view to securing the bridge to construct an outwork above and below the fort, but this point I have not had an opportunity of closely examining. It is one of considerable importance and would influence the defence.

(4) To provide proper cover for powder.

If it be determined to hold the city, works (1), (2) and (4) appear to be indispensable.

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217. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—Supplement to No. 73, dated Lahore, 28th October 1857.*

IN continuation of my letter No. 73* of the 24th instant, relative to the fortifications of the city and palace of Delhie, I am directed to forward copy of a telegraphic message† from the Chief Commissioner to the Officiating Commissioner of Delhie, which should have accompanied my last letter, but was omitted by mistake.

*216 (page 196).
†214 (page 195).

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218. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 74, dated Lahore, 28th October 1857.*

Paper purporting to give an account of the state of affairs in the Punjab found among the records of the ex-King of Delhi.

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner to annex, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, translation of a rather curious paper which was found among the records of the ex-King of Delhi by the Officiating Commissioner, Mr. Saunders. The document is dated the 29th of May, and purports to give an account of the state of affairs and public feeling in the Punjab. The Chief Commissioner is endeavouring to discover the author.

ENCLOSURE TO 218.

Translation of an urzee in Urdu from TAJ-OOD-DEEN to the King of Dehlee,—dated 29th May 1857.

Paper purporting to give an account of the state of affairs in the Punjab found at Delhi.

MY liege, I bring to the notice of Your Majesty's servants circumstances connected with the disaffection which overspread the troops of the English in all the cantonments in the Punjab on the receipt of intelligence of the massacre of the English, together with their women and children, in the cantonment and inside the city of Shahjahanabad by the troops, and the consternation in which the English have been thrown in consequence of the ascendancy of the Imperial fortune, brought about by Divine assistance.

On the day on which intelligence of the murder of the officers at Dehlee and other Englishmen and women and children, who were residing in the cantonment of Dehlee, reached the authorities at Lahore by the electric wire, the latter became dismayed, and first of all made arrangements for the protection of the lives of the people of their tribe. All the women and children that were in the cantonments of Anarkulee and Meean Meer were carried into the Royal palace (the citadel), which is situated inside the city of Lahore and kept there under the protection of the European soldiers. From that day all the Europeans, Civil and Military, sleep, in consequence of fear of being murdered, in the palace, and wherever there were guards of the *black* troops, they were removed and substituted by men of the regiment of Soobhan Khan, who is a native of the Punjab. The treasure which was outside was carried into the fort. Similar arrangements were made at Umritsur. In the first place, the treasure was removed from the Rambagh to the fort of Govindgurh, from where the Tilunga Guards were removed. A company of European soldiers was despatched from Lahore to garrison Govindgurh and protect life and treasure. At night all the women and children sleep in the fort. The next day, on the pretext of a general review (kuwayud) the Hoosainee Regiment and the Pol. (*sic*) Regiment and the 2nd Regular Cavalry were disarmed at Meean Meer, and the magazine was taken possession of by the Europeans. But the

Paper purporting to give an account of the state of affairs in the Punjab found at Delhi.

troopers of the Cavalry did not surrender the saddles of the horses; the same day they saddled their horses and went off to Ferozepoor along with 1,400 sepoys of the (disarmed) regiments. The 10th Cavalry and two Hindoostanee Regiments stationed at Ferozepoor had a severe fight with the European soldiers, 100 of whom were killed. The Hindoostanee Troops took possession of the magazine at Ferozepoor. I have heard that one regiment of Cavalry and one battalion of Infantry have reached Your Majesty *viâ* Jugraoon. On receiving information of the troops at Lahore having been treacherously disarmed, all the Hindoostanee Troops in the cantonments of Peshawur, Nowshera, Rawulpindee, Jhelum, Sealkote, Umritsur, Mooltan, Jalundhur, Hoshiarpoor, Phillour, Noorpoor, Kangra and Umballa became disaffected; and, although the English were anxious by any stratagem to disarm the Hindoostanee Regiments, every regiment has retained its arms and magazine. The English flatter and coax the troops in every cantonment, but the Hindoostanee Troops have lost all faith in the words and deeds of the English, and the latter in like manner do not trust the former. Great consternation prevails amongst the English. For the protection of their lives they favour the Chiefs of the Punjab. They have hitherto escaped under the protection of the European soldiers and the Surdars (Chiefs) of the Punjab. The management of the Punjab has been entrusted to the Chiefs (Surdars) of the country as follows: The management of Lahore has been made over to Nuwab Imam-ood-deen, formerely Governor of Cashmeer. The Nuwab has enlisted 1,000 sepoys for the protection of the city of Lahore. He is also raising a regiment of Punjabee sowars. The management of Umritsur has been entrusted to Surdar Shumsher Singh, Sindhawala, and other Chiefs of the Manjha; and for the protection of Sealkote 2,000 Infantry have been sent down by Raja Goolab Singh of Jummoo. The territory of Peshawur, as far as the fort of Rohtas, has been made over to Surdar Dost Muhummud Khan, the Ruler of Cabool, and for the management of the Jalundhur Doab the Chief of Kupoorthulla has enlisted 700 Infantry and 200 Cavalry. All

Paper purporting to give an account of the state of affairs in the Punjab found at Delhi.

the lamburdars of villages and jageerdars in the Jalundhur Doab have been compelled to contribute two sowars and five foot soldiers each. The management of Ilaka Loodhiana has been entrusted to Nuwab Soobe Khan of Maler Kotla, who is now at Loodhiana, with 1,000 foot and horse. Umbala, Thanesur and Kythul, &c., have been entrusted to the Raja of Putiala, who is now at Thanesur; and I have heard that the Royal firman which had been sent to the Raja has been made over by him to the Commissioner of Umbala; and it is reported that the Raja has received the Ilakas of Thanesur and Kythul as a reward for his having delivered the Royal firman. In this manner have the English arranged for the management and protection of each district. The troops in all the cantonments are anxious to gain the support and co-operation of the Surdars and with their aid leave their cantonments with their arms and magazine and proceed to the Royal presence to sacrifice their lives. The Chiefs of the Punjab are so cowardly that none of them gave hopes of assistance to the troops; on the contrary, they are firm in obeying the orders of the infidel authorities. This well-wisher of Your Majesty (meaning himself) spoke to several Chiefs of the Punjab secretly; every one of them replied that all the Chiefs were waiting for an opportunity; whenever the Royal mandate reached them they would be ready with all their heart to sacrifice their lives for the cause of Royalty and exterminate the infidels. Should the slaves of Your Majesty deem fit, a mandate may be sent to every Chief in the Punjab to the following effect, *viz.*, any Chief who may assist the infidels and deviate from Royal allegiance will be punished. All the Chiefs of the Punjab, Hindoo and Moosulman, will in all probability not fail to obey the orders of Your Majesty; or else a Commander-in-Chief should be sent towards the Punjab at the head of four or five thousand troops and some guns; then it is extremely probable that all the Hindoostanee Troops will join with the Imperial Army and root out the infidels from the Punjab, as all the Hindoostanee Troops are disaffected. It is for such reasons that the British have entrusted the Province of the Punjab to its Chiefs.

Paper purporting to give an account of the state of affairs in the Punjab found at Delhi.

Since intelligence has reached the English to the effect that the regiment at Aleegurh has, after having taken several lakhs of rupees from the treasuries of Aleegurh and Bulundshuhr, proceeded to the Imperial Court; that the Mooradabad Troops have looted the treasure there, let loose the prisoners, and with their arms and magazine joined the Royal Durbar; that eight companies of the Sappers and Miners at Roorkee killed six of their European officers, and after having plundered the town of Moozuffurnugur joined the Imperial Army; that a battle was fought at Paneeput between the Imperial Troops and the infidel army in which many European soldiers and infidels were killed and the field of victory gained by the Royal Troops; and that in this battle the Commander-in-Chief of the English Troops, who had marched from Umbala with European Troops to oppose the Imperial Army, and declared with vanity and pride that he would destroy the city of Dehlee in an hour's time, was sent to hell; and intelligence having also been received of the death of Colonel Lawrence, Chief Commissioner of Oudh, all the English, whether Military or Civil, have been frightened and panic struck; every one of them despairs of his life. The English have, under these circumstances, made over the country to the Chiefs. It is certain that all the troops of Jalundhur, Peshawur, Rawulpindee and Jhelum, &c., have quitted their cantonments and marched towards Umbala. The troops from Sealkote arrived at Lahore on * May. On the receipt of intelligence of the mutiny of the Ferozepoor Troops, the troops that came from Sealkote were sent from Lahore *viâ* Kussoor to Ferozepoor. It is reported that the Ferozepoor Troops set free all the prisoners there and plundered the treasury. It is probable that the Hindoostanee Troops from Sealkote will not fight against the Ferozepoor Troops. The English have resolved that if they be allowed time up to the commencement of the rainy season, and the Imperial Troops not march in the interval towards the Punjab, they will send for their European Troops from all the cantonments and collect them at Kurnal and then fight against the Royal Forces. The English officers are occupied in making such arrangements. Forty

*NOTE.—Date not given.

guns have been sent from Phillour towards Kurnal against the Royal Army, but owing to the scarcity of carriage, their progress has been retarded on the road near the surae of Rajpoora, where they are now at a stand. Fifty elephants have been sent for from Peshawur, but they cannot reach Rajpoora before a month hence. If before the arrival of the elephants the Imperial Troops be despatched towards Umbala, it is probable that all the Hindoostanee Regiments at Umbala will join with them, and then the Imperial rule will easily extend over the Punjab, and the troops in every cantonment are awaiting the arrival of Imperial Troops under the command of a Viceroy, and, as soon as the Royal Troops proceed towards the Punjab, they will all acknowledge allegiance. There are only two regiments of European soldiers at Umbala which have come down from Simla, besides one regiment of Infantry and one of Cavalry (both European) which have been heretofore stationed there. Half of both these regiments have been killed at Paneeput with the Commander-in-Chief. The weather is very oppressive; if the European Troops will march in this season, they will surely die from the intensity of heat. The English therefore do not wish to come in contact with Royal Forces at this season. Four or five thousand troops, Infantry and Cavalry, with some guns, should be sent as speedily as possible towards the Punjab; by the grace of God all the country from Umbala to Peshawur will, without an effort, fall into the possession of the slaves of Your Majesty; and the Hindoostanee Troops in the service of the English, as well as the Chiefs of the Punjab, will all acknowledge allegiance. The English are in a state of despair from the receipt of information of the assemblage of troops and the increase of Royal fortune and prosperity.

Paper purporting to give an account of the state of affairs in the Punjab found at Delhi.

When the infidels will hear of the advance of Imperial armies, all the English will, from fright, quit their forces and take flight. The 40 guns which are now lying at Rajpoora will also fall into the possession of Royal Forces. This well-wisher of Your Majesty (meaning the writer) wished to wait in person on Your Majesty and give a full description of the

affairs in the Punjab, but could not do so, being encumbered with a family. My ancestors and myself have eaten the salt of the Imperial Government, and I have therefore hereby given a detail of the affairs of the Punjab. The arrangements made for the stoppage of the postal communication of the infidels should be fully maintained, and no dâk should, as far as possible, be allowed to pass. I shall as far as practicable continue to communicate the news of the Punjab. But there is strict watch kept and no well-wisher can communicate a detailed account. I pray for pardon for any disrespectful expression that I may have made use of. *(Petition of the slave Taj-ood-deen, numuk purwurdah-i-kudeem Bargah-i-Sooltanee, 29th May 1857.*)*

*NOTE.—The date appears to be incorrect as the document refers to events of a later date, *e.g.*, the death of Sir Henry Lawrence, which occurred on the 4th of July 1857.

CHAPTER VII.

NOVEMBER 1857 TO FEBRUARY 1858.

Gugera insurrection—Seizure of Nawabs of Jhajjar, Dádri and Farukhnagar—Death of Mr. Clifford, Assistant Magistrate, Delhi, in a skirmish with the Mehwattis—Disposal of sepoys returning from furlough—Regret of Government at the death of Brigadier-General Nicholson—Suppression of the Gugera insurrection—Defeat of Jodhpur mutineers at Narnaul—Defeat of Mehwattis at Rúpraka—Views of Brigadier-General S. Cotton, Colonel H. B. Edwardes and Sir John Lawrence regarding the future management of the Peshâwar Valley—Execution of Chiefs of Jhajjar and Ballabgarh—Nawab of Farukhnagar sentenced to death—Tour of Sir J. Lawrence.

219. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, Calcutta,—No. 76, dated Lahore, 2nd November 1857.*

Report of occurrences in the Punjab.

IN continuation of my last despatch,* I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to make the following report.

*No. 72, dated 20th October 1857 (213, page 188).

Continuance of Gugera insurrection.

2. The Googaira insurrection has not yet been put down. Several of the insurgent clans, however, have submitted, and many of the followers of the leading men of others have dispersed. All are desirous of submitting; but until some punishment has been dealt out to the most notorious and guilty individuals it does not appear expedient to admit the rest to terms. They have burnt and pillaged and murdered; and now that troops have assembled from various quarters and are pressing them on different sides, it behoves us to teach them a lesson which they will not readily forget.

Attitude of Nawab of Baháwalpur.

3. Among the enclosures will be found translation of certain papers received from the Bhawulpoor Newab. Rumour would lead the Chief Commissioner to believe that this Chief and his leading men encouraged the insurgents in the first instance. Since the fall of Delhie, however, he has changed his policy, and is now eager to show his zeal in our cause.

Attack on camp of Lieutenant Horne, Assistant Commissioner, in Yusafzai.

4. A few days ago the camp of the Assistant Commissioner, Lieutenant Horne, was suddenly attacked at night on the borders of Eusufzye. This officer, who was foolishly moving about with an inadequate escort, narrowly escaped with his life. He had scarcely left his tent when it was in flames and nearly all his servants were killed. In the rest of the Punjab all has been tranquil.

State of the salt trade in the Punjab and attendance in Native schools.

5. The salt trade, an index of prosperity, shows better returns up to the 1st of October for this year when compared with those for 1856-57. And still more remarkable, the attendance in our Native schools evinces no decrease. On the contrary, there was a slight increase in favor of this year.

Sickness at Peshawar. Death of Lieutenant-Colonel Kyle, Her Majesty's 27th Foot.

6. The sickness at Peshawur still continues to be very great. On the 25th ultimo, out of a force of 8,549, full 22 per cent. were in hospital. Lieutenant-Colonel Kyle of the 27th Foot, one of the best officers in Her Majesty's service, has lately died at Peshawur. He had been unwell for some months, and was strongly advised by his medical attendant to leave; but, like a true soldier, he remained and died at his post.

Despatch of the 1st Sikh Cavalry to Delhi.

7. The 1st Siekh Cavalry, 586 sabres, will leave Lahore on the 6th for Delhie. This regiment was raised in two months, but has been detained in consequence of the Googaira disturbance. Rather more than one-fourth of the men are Mahomedans; all the rest are Siekhs or Hill Rajpoots. The greater portion of the two latter classes are men who fought against us in the last war, but who will now fight, the Chief Commissioner feels assured, on our side. They are ready to go anywhere, and the best spirit prevails among them. They march for Delhie at General Penny's request, but the Chief Commissioner hopes that they will go on to Oude.

8. The Chief Commissioner is now raising a second corps of the same description; for he perceives that Cavalry are urgently called for in Hindostan, after which he will raise no more without the orders of the Supreme Government.

Raising of a second corps of Irregular Cavalry.

9. The Chief Commissioner hopes that it will not be thought that he has raised more Punjabee Troops than the crisis required; than were absolutely necessary to maintain our hold on the country and furnish the reinforcements essential for the army below.

Justification for raising so many Punjabi Troops.

10. He would no more place implicit faith in Punjabee soldiers than in those of Hindostan. We were in great straits, however, and there was no choice but to be up and bestir ourselves, or wait patiently until the flood of insurrection overtook us. Thet roops which have been raised were enlisted gradually, and their numbers added to only as they showed that they might be relied on. They are composed of all races which abound in the Punjab and the adjacent hills, from the wild Belooch and hardy Afreedee down to the docile mountaineer of our own hills. A large body of them, consisting of very irregular levies, will be paid up and discharged when the emergency has passed. It must be borne in mind that in raising some of these troops we gained two objects,—one that we ranged them on our side; the other that we withdrew them from the ranks of our enemies.

11. Matters seem on the whole to progress favorably in the Delhie territory. The Nawabs of Jhujjur, Dadree and Farukhnugger have been seized, their troops dispersed, and their forts taken. The strong fort of Kanound mounting 14 guns was surrendered without a shot being fired. In it were found seven lakhs of rupees.

Seizure of Nawabs of Jhajjar, Dádri and Farukhnagar.

12. The Chief Commissioner has just heard that Mr. Clifford, the Assistant Magistrate at Delhie, has been killed in a skirmish with the Mehwattees, a hardy race of Mahomedans in the Rewaree District. These Mehwattees were formerly noted plunderers. During the decadence of the Mahomedan power they used to plunder up to the gates of Delhie. Their country is strong, being traversed by the low range of hills

Death of Mr. Clifford, Assistant Magistrate, Delhi, in a skirmish with the Mehwattis.
Account of the Mehwattis.

which commence at the Jumna close to Delhie, the same range which proved of so much service to us during the late siege. These Mehwattees used in former days to boast to the Chief Commissioner, then the Magistrate of that district, that they recollected the day when they could assemble 40,000 Cavalry. This was no doubt an exaggeration, but the tribe was long famous for its power and predatory habits. Shortly after the conquest of Delhie from the Mahrattas, these Mehwattees gave trouble, but subsequently settled down into peaceable and industrious cultivators. These habits they will again resume; in the first instance, however, they require to be chastised.

Disposal of sepoys returning from furlough.

13. Copy of correspondence regarding the furlough men is annexed. The Chief Commissioner proposed that they should be allowed to return to their regiments, and that enquiry should there be made into their conduct. To this the General demurred, as only adding to our difficulties by the number of men who might flock into cantonments. The circular order of General Gowan by some mistake was issued before the Chief Commissioner's views were known. It is clear to him that unless a sepoy could produce the letter of some British officer, any other evidence would be untrustworthy; but it might have been well as a matter of precaution to have heard what each man wished to say.

Successful raids on the insurgents in the Gugera District.

P.S.—Since this despatch was written, intelligence has been received that on the 29th ultimo Captain MacAndrew, with 2 Horse Artillery guns, 400 Police Infantry, and a small detachment of the Lahore Light Horse, after a forced march of from 25 to 30 miles, in many places through a heavy jungle, surprised the insurgents in the Googaira District, killed from 40 to 50 men, and captured an immense quantity of property, camels and cattle. On the following day Major C. Chamberlain seized upwards of 1,700 head of cattle and many flocks. Captain Cureton has also been successful on the right bank of the Ravee, capturing 600 head of cattle. These losses will soon bring the insurgents to their senses.

NOTE.—For reply see 232 (page 260).

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 219.

Translation of a petition from MAHOMMUD, NUTHOO, MOORAD, AMEER *and* LALL, *Kathias, and* BHAWAL, FUTWANA *and* SULAMAT THERANA, *zumeendars of Zillah Googaira, to the Nawab of Bhawulpoor.* (*Note.—Bears no date.*)

After compliments,—Whereas intelligence was received to the effect that the King of Dehli was making war against the English Government for the sake of establishing Mahomedanism under the Divine Command, on hearing this happy news, all the zumeendars of this country rose up in mutiny against the English authorities of the Mooltan Division. Accordingly we are fighting against them up to the present time. Your Highness is the Aristotle of this age, and well knows that the warfare of the zumeendars cannot equal that of the Government. Seeing no other alternative, and considering that you are a Mahomedan Prince, and observant of the laws of the Shuru, we resolved to cross into your dominions. But we understood that, in accordance with the orders of the British Government, Your Highness has laid an embargo against the zumeendars of this territory crossing the Sutlej. Consequently we halted at a distance of four coss from the bank of the river. Subsequently we returned from thence and settled in the valley of the old Beas. Having been now reduced to a state of helplessness, we submit that, if you are firm in the Mahomedan religion, we have about 18,000 fighting men ready to serve wherever Your Highness may require them. Otherwise there is a great distance between us and the King. Except God and His Prophet, Your Highness' self is our only supporter. We will surrender our families and children and all our property to you, so that the infidel authorities may not lay their hands on them. Therefore we beg that, for the sake of God and His Prophet, Your Highness may lend your hand and assist us, for which you will be rewarded at the last day.

Overtures made to the Nawab of Baháwalpur by the Gugera rebels.

The Nawab's reply to the above,—dated 19th October 1857.

YOU rose up in rebellion at a time when service ought to have been rendered to the British authorities, and you beg the assistance of this Government. You have behaved very improperly, and the consequence of your misconduct will be most

Reply of the Nawab of Baháwalpur to the Gugera rebels.

detrimental to your interests. The English are lords of the country. How dared you, poor people, mutiny against them. Have you not heard that he who grapples with an arm of steel injures his own silvery wrist (*sic*). And you yourself know that between this Government and the British friendship has existed since before the occupation of the Punjab, and the friends and enemies of both the Governments are reciprocal. So assistance from this Government is out of the question. Nay, for your punishment and annihilation, the troops of this Government are sufficient, and the British authorities will have no need to trouble themselves about your punishment. The troops of this Government could crush you in a short time. If you wish your own welfare, you ought to give up your mischievous intentions and wait upon the British authorities, either through the medium of this Government or by yourselves, with a rope round your necks in token of submission, and ask forgiveness. If you do so, it is probable that your past offences may be forgiven, and your families, properties and lives preserved. Otherwise you may count yourselves and the whole body of your accomplices as destroyed, for the English and this Government will inflict such exemplary punishment upon you as will be patent to the world, and no trace of your homes and families will be left. The troops of this Government are already on duty against you, and now that it has appeared that you are bent on mischief, additional reinforcements consisting of Artillery and Cavalry and Infantry have been despatched, and the rebels will be thoroughly chastised.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 219.

From Major C. PRIOR, Assistant Adjutant-General, Lahore Division, to Lieutenant-Colonel J. D. MACPHERSON, Military Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 216, dated Meean Meer, 14th October 1857.

Disposal of the furlough men of regiments of the Bengal Army in the Punjab.

I HAVE been desired by Major-General Gowan, C. B., Commanding in the Upper Provinces, to acknowledge your letter No. 6301 of yesterday, forwarding a memorandum from the Chief Commissioner, pointing out the most expedient mode of disposing of Native officers and men of the Bengal Army.

The Major-General entirely concurs in opinion with Sir John, and will issue orders to the forces in the Upper Provinces immediately; but to ensure the men not entering the Punjab he begs to suggest, for Sir John Lawrence's consideration, whether it would not be advisable that orders should be sent to the several Civil authorities to prevent any leave men crossing the Sutlej, or from entering the Punjab by any other route, excepting such has can produce satisfactory certificates from competent authority.

Disposal of furlough men of regiments of the Bengal Army in the Punjab.

ENCLOSURE (3) TO 219.

From Lieutenant-Colonel J. D. MACPHERSON, Military Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to Major-General GOWAN, C. B., Commanding Upper Provinces, Meean Meer,—No. 6493, dated Lahore, 16th October 1857.

IN reply to Major Prior's letter No. 216 of the 14th instant, I have the honor to state that, in the Chief Commissioner's opinion, the particular case of each individual Native officer or soldier of the corps of the line that may now be returning from furlough can be more satisfactorily enquired into and judged of if he is permitted to come back to the regiment to which he belongs.

2. The Chief Commissioner would observe that, if it be deemed expedient to prevent these furlough men from communicating with the other men of their regiments, this can perhaps be effected without difficulty, and that if each man is called upon to account for himself during his absence by regimental authorities, they will be better able to determine the value of any statement he may make than the Civil authorities, who are necessarily ignorant of his antecedents, could possibly do.

3. The summary dismissal with forfeiture of arrears of pay of all Native officers and men who fail to show satisfactorily that they have not been wanting in their loyalty to the State would, moreover, have a good effect if carried out in presence of their regiments.

4. Should you, however, still desire it, the Chief Commissioner will issue the orders, as suggested, to prevent the furlough men from re-entering the Punjab, with the exception

Disposal of furlough men of regiments of the Bengal Army in the Punjab.

of those who can produce certificates of their having maintained their good faith during their furloughs.

ENCLOSURE (4) TO 219.

Extract Punjab Orders by Major-General G. E. GOWAN, C. B., Commanding in the Upper Provinces,—No. 371, dated Head-Quarters Meean Meer, 17th October 1857.

WITH the concurrence of the Chief Commissioner in the Punjab, the Major-General Commanding in the Upper Provinces is pleased to direct that the names of all commissioned, non-commissioned officers and sepoys of Native Regiments of the line, now on furlough, be struck off the rolls of their respective regiments with forfeiture of arrears. In the event of any soldier rejoining on the expiration of his leave, he is to be directed to proceed to his home forthwith, the only exception being made in the case of those men who may be furnished with satisfactory certificates from Magistrates of districts to which they belong, or other competent authority, of their having maintained their good faith during their furlough.

Such men who, on rejoining, can produce the required certificate are to be re-enrolled in their former standing with the sanction of the Officer Commanding the Division in which the regiment is located.

ENCLOSURE (5) TO 219.

From Lieutenant-Colonel J. D. MACPHERSON, Military Secretary to the Chief Commisisioner, Punjab, to District Officers, Thanesur, Umballa, Loodiana, Ferozepore, Lahore and Jullundur,—Circular No. 67—6738, dated Lahore, 22nd October 1857.

BY desire of the Chief Commissioner, I have the honor to annex for your information a copy of Punjab Orders by Major-General G. E. Gowan, C. B., Commanding in the Upper Provinces, No. 371, dated 17th instant, by which you will observe that all furlough men of Native corps of the line are to be summarily struck off the rolls of their regiments and to forfeit all arrears of pay, with the exception of those who can produce certificates of their fidelity or can account for themselves satisfactorily during their absence.

Disposal of furlough men of regiments of the Bengal Army in the Punjab.

2. In furtherance of these orders the Chief Commissioner directs that you will take measures to have all furlough men that may be in or may reach your district stopped and examined, and that no man be suffered to pass on who may fail to show, to your complete satisfaction, either by certificate granted to him or otherwise, that he has strictly maintained his good faith, and done his duty to the State, while absent on his furlough.

3. You will disarm all these furlough men, whether foot or horse, who may thus fail to show that they have been true to their salt, and you will also dismount the latter, sending their horses, arms and equipments to the regiments to which they belong, that when sold the proceeds may go to meet their regimental debts to bankers or others.

4. You will, in all cases, report to Commanding Officers of corps the names of all men, whether foot or horse, who may be thus dealt with, and sent back to their homes, noting any matters in regard to them which you may deem it desirable to bring particularly to notice.

5. You should depute a party of Police to escort them out of your district, and to hand them over to the Police of the next district they may come to, and they should in this manner be watched till they reach their homes.

6. You will further be pleased to consider these instructions applicable also to all furlough men of the Punjab Irregular Corps.

ENCLOSURE (6) TO 219.

From Lieutenant-Colonel J. D. MACPHERSON, Military Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to Major-General G. E. GOWAN, C. B., Commanding in the Upper Provinces, Meean Meer,—No. 6739, dated Lahore, 22nd October 1857.

WITH reference to your demi-official note to my address and the copy of your Punjab Order, No. 371 of the 17th instant, I have the honor, by desire of the Chief Commissioner, to annex a copy of a circular letter this day addressed to the District Officers marginally noted, in which, in accordance to

Thanesur, Umballa, Loodiana, Ferozepore, Lahore and Jullundur.

your wishes, they are directed to stop all furlough men of Native corps returning to the Punjab, to examine and, after dismounting and disarming all who cannot satisfactorily account for themselves during their absence from their corps, to send them back to their homes.

Sir John Lawrence, however, is given to understand that certain conditions were promised to the men of the 4th and 6th Regiments of Light Cavalry before they were directed to proceed on furlough, and he would beg to recommend that some enquiry be made in regard to them.

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220. *From G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 4406, dated Fort William, 5th November 1857.*

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your Officiating Secretary's despatch No. 54* of the 15th September last reporting the assault and capture of Delhie and the death of Brigadier-General Nicholson.

*184 (page 44).

Regret of Government at the death of Brigadier-General Nicholson.

The Governor-General in Council has received with much regret the intelligence of the death of Brigadier-General Nicholson. His Lordship in Council desires me to convey to you the expression of his sincere sorrow at the untimely loss the Government has sustained in the death of this very meritorious officer, especially at a time when his recent successes had pointed him out as one of the foremost among the many whose loss the State has lately had to deplore.

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221. *From G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, K. C. B., Chief Commissioner of the Punjab,—No. 4088, dated Fort William, 2nd October 1857.*

Pardoning of mutineers who have not murdered Europeans.

I HAVE received and laid before the Governor-General in Council your Officiating Secretary's two letters of the dates and numbers noted in the margin, forwarding a copy of your corre-

Letter dated 3rd September, No. 47 (171, page 9).

Letter dated 4th September, No. 49 (173, page 12).

spondence with Brigadier-General Wilson on the subject of pardoning mutineers who have not murdered Europeans.

Pardoning of mutineers who have not murdered Europeans.

2. In reply, I am directed to convey His Lordship in Council's approval of the course adopted by you, and to state that the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces gave advice to the like effect to General Wilson, which was entirely approved.

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222. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to Major General PENNY, C. B., Commanding at Delhie,—No. 1615, dated 13th November 1857.*

WITH reference to the previous correspondence marginally noted on the subject of pardoning mutineers, I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to forward, for your information, the annexed copy of a letter No. 4088, of the 2nd ultimo, from Mr. Secretary Edmonstone, conveying the approval of Government to the course adopted by him on the occasion.

Brigadier-General Wilson's telegraphic message dated 2nd September 1857—Enclosure (1) to 171 (page 10).
Chief Commissioner's telegraphic reply of the same date—Enclosure (2) to 171 (page 10).
Chief Commissioner's demi-official letter to Brigadier-General Wilson dated 4th September 1857—Enclosure to 173 (page 12).

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223. *From G F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, K. C. B, Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 4108, dated Fort William, 6th October 1857 (received 11th November 1857).*

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Officiating Secretary's letter No. 45,* dated the 28th August last, submitting a copy of Lieutenant Mildmay's report to General Van Cortlandt of the repulse of the insurgent Ranghurs who attacked the town of Hissar on the 19th idem.

*165 (Part I, page 435).

Repulse of insurgent Ranghars at Hissar on the 19th August 1857.

2. The Governor-General in Council considers the affair to have been very creditable to Lieutenant Mildmay and the troops commanded by him, and desires that the thanks of His

Acknowledgment of services of the officers engaged in repulsing the attack of the Ranghars on Hissar.

Lordship in Council may be conveyed to Lieutenant Mildmay, as well as to the officers and other gentlemen named in paragraph 2 of your Officiating Secretary's letter under reply, for their good conduct on the occasion referred to.

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224. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to General VAN CORTLANDT, Commanding Field Force,—No. 750, dated 14th November 1857.*

IN continuation of my predecessor's letter dated 28th August last, I am now directed by the Chief Commissioner to forward, for your information, copy of Mr. Brandreth's letter No. 45* of the same date to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department reporting on the action by the force under Lieutenant Mildmay with the insurgent Ranghurs before the town of Hansee, as well as copy of the Government reply, No. 4108, dated 6th ultimo, conveying the commendation of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council of Lieutenant Mildmay and of the officers and troops under his command.

*165 (Part I, page 435).

2. You are requested to convey to Lieutenants Mildmay, Boileau and Hunt, to Doctor Lamb, and to Messrs. Taylor and Jackson, the thanks of His Lordship in Council, for their good conduct on this occasion, as expressed in the 2nd paragraph of Mr. Secretary Edmonstone's letter.

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225. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 77, dated Lahore, 19th November 1857.*

Suppression of the Gugera insurrection.

I AM directed to report that the Commissioner of Multan considers that the Googaira insurrection is at an end. Many of the leaders have given themselves up; arms have been surrendered; and the insurgents have dispersed. Nothing of any importance has occurred in the Punjab since the 2nd instant,

the date of my last despatch. Still we are looking out anxiously for the arrival of reinforcements from England at Kurrachee, for there can be no doubt that the minds of the people all over the country have been much excited by the long continuance, and severity, of the present struggle.

Arrival of reinforcements from England anxiously awaited.

2. The Chief Commissioner having received intimation from the Chairman of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors that horses should be collected for mounting two regiments of Dragoons, and also for a considerable force of Artillery, the necessary orders have been issued. All available horses of the dismounted corps of Light Cavalry will be brought together, but there are not many. The chief Military authorities have been requested to convene Standing Committees at stations to purchase suitable animals. The Chief Commissioner has authorized, when necessary, that the fixed prices for horses be raised by Rs. 100. The Superintendents of Studs have been requested to make purchases of such mares as they may consider fit for the service, as well as to collect all the Government colts which may be available. The Chief Commissioner proposes that all horses pronounced fit for immediate work should be collected at Multan, to which place the troops can be conveyed by steamers.

Collection of horses for two regiments of Dragoons and Artillery expected from England.

For European Cavalry and Horse Artillery from Rs. 450 to Rs. 550; for Foot Artillery from Rs. 400 to Rs. 500.

3. While on this subject, the Chief Commissioner would venture to point out what is almost universally admitted to be a great mistake by all Military officers who have given the subject their attention. He alludes to the size and weight of English Dragoons. These men on the average ride fully 20 stone. Now the horses of India, as a rule, are utterly unfit to carry such a weight in the manner a Dragoon should be carried. Not one horse in a hundred, perhaps in a thousand, possesses the blood and bone which such a weight requires. And such an animal when found will fetch from £150 to £200. Even imported English and Australian horses will not answer for half of them die before they are acclimatised. The heat, exposure and hard soil soon destroy such horses, if constantly work-

Unsuitability of horses available in India for English Dragoons.

ed and not much cared for. Dragoons for effective service in India should not ride more than 13 or 14 stone.

State of affairs in the Delhi Division.

4. Affairs appear to progress satisfactorily in the Delhy Division. In the Hissar District, out of 8,507 head of cattle in the Government Farm, $\frac{3}{4}$ths of which had been plundered, all but 1,000 have been recovered.

Defeat of the Jodhpur Legion at Narnaul.

Death of Colonel Gerrard, Commanding the British Forces.

5. Last night news was received by telegraph that after a severe fight the Joudhpoor Legion was defeated at Narnoul on the 16th instant with considerable loss, and had retired southwards. Colonel Gerrard, who commanded the British Force, was mortally wounded and died next day. There is no Military Force of the insurgents left in Upper India, that is higher up than the latitude of Mynpoorie.

Raising of a Police Battalion for the North-Western Provinces.

6. The Chief Commissioner has raised a Police Battalion of 800 men, $\frac{3}{4}$ths of whom are Seikhs and hillmen and Hindoos, and the rest Mahomedans, for the North-Western Provinces. This battalion will march from Lahore *viâ* Sirsa to Delhy, and if not ultimately required there will go on to Agra. A second battalion is now being raised for service at Benares. These corps have been raised at the request of the late Lieutenant-Governor and the Hon'ble Mr. Grant.

Money needed in the Punjab.

7. The Chief Commissioner earnestly requests that some arrangements may be made for sending a supply of money to the Punjab. We have at present sufficient funds to meet the public expenditure for the ensuing three months. But at the expiration of that period, without considerable remittances we shall be literally bankrupt. We have had, it must be remembered, to supply the funds for the Army before Delhy and for all the carriage and other incidental expenses of the war. We shall now have to meet the increased expenditure of the troops arriving from England. We have also had to supply funds for the hill stations of Simlah, Mussoorie and Landour. The prize property paid in at Delhy will prove a considerable but inadequate resource to meet our necessities.

Sickness and mortality in Peshâwar.

8. The sickness and mortality among the European Troops in the Peshawur Valley still continues to be very grievous.

226. *From G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, K. C. B., Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 4666, dated Fort William, 20th November 1857 (received 31st December 1857).*

Hope of Government that the return of a European Regiment from Delhi the Punjab will help to restore order

I HAVE had the honor to submit to the Govenor-General in Council your Officiating Secretary's despatch dated the 18th September, No. 58,* reporting, among other matters, a rising of the Kharrals and other similar tribes in the Googaira District, and in reply I am directed to express the hope of His Lordship in Council that the return of a European Regiment from Delhi to the Punjab will help to restore quiet and order.

*189 (page 58).

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227. *From G. F EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, K. C. B., Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 4688, dated Fort William, 20th November 1857.*

Appointment of Lieutenant Ommanney to the charge of the King of Delhi and State prisoners.

IN reply to your Officiating Secretary's letter dated 13th ultimo, No. 68,† recommending that Lieutenant Ommanney be placed in charge of the deposed King of Delhi and other State prisoners, I have the honor to inform you that the Governor-General in Council approves of this arrangement and sanctions Lieutenant Ommanney's appointment on a salary of Rs. 500 per mensem.

†206 (page 137).

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228. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 78, dated Lahore, 30th November 1857.*

Tranquillity of the Punjab. Complete suppression of the Gugera insurrection.

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner to report, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, that all continues well in the Punjab. The Googaira insurrection is at an end. All the leaders have surrendered, except one who has fled the country. All the plundered arms,

and much of the plundered property, have been given up. It is with much regret, however, that I have to state that Lieutenant Neville of Her Majesty's 81st Regiment at Lahore was murdered during the insurrection when on his way down the Sutledge from Ferozepoor to Kurrachee. His boat was fired at and the rowers made to come to the bank, when Lieutenant Neville, who made no resistance, was basely murdered in cold blood. It had been known for some time that a European had been killed, but it is only within the last few days that the name of the sufferer was ascertained.

Murder of Lieutenant Neville, 81st Regiment, on the Sutlej while *en route* to Karáchi.

2. The sickness among the European Troops in the Peshawur Valley still continues to be lamentably great. The three regiments of Infantry are literally unfit for any active service. Her Majesty's 27th Regiment, which only arrived a few months ago at Peshawur, has already lost 90 of its finest men. We have six regiments of Punjab Infantry in the valley, of which all but one are nearly complete, besides a large body of levies.

Sickness among the troops in the Pesháwar Valley.

3. We have just heard of the arrival of 192 men of Her Majesty's 87th Regiment at Kurrachee. They were to have left Kurrachee for Multan on the 21st instant. This is the first reinforcement from England which has arrived, and it will not be at Lahore in all probability for the next six weeks, or at Peshawur before the end of February.

Arrival at Karáchi of the first reinforcement from England.

4. I annex translation of two letters of some interest, addressed by the insurgent Joudhpoor Legion and their confederates, to the troops of the Maharaja of Ulwur, who sent them to the Commissioner of Delhy. In these letters the mutineers complain of no grievances of any kind. On the contrary, they speak of having given up advantages and comforts, all for the sake of religion. It appears that the Maharaja's forces followed the insurgents as the latter pursued their way to Narnoul, and were close at hand, when the column under Colonel Gerrard attacked them. In this affair the mutineers seem to have suffered considerably; but the pursuit by our Cavalry commenced too late. The fugitives retreated to Ulwur, where they had a successful brush with the Maharaja's Troops; from

Letters addressed by insurgents of the Jodhpur Legion to Alwar Troops.

Route taken by defeated Jodhpur Legion.

that place they fled to the Jumna, which they crossed south of Pulwul, and have probably made for Oude or Rohilkhund.

Execution of leading insurgents at Delhi.

5. All appears to be going on favorably in the Delhy Division. A large number of the leading or most notorious insurgents have been tried, found guilty and hanged. There must, however, be a great number of irregular horsemen in the country, for the Delhy Division furnished several thousands to our army. The defeat and dispersion of the Joudhpoor mutineers were of much importance; had they reached and found breathing time in Hurrianah, for which they were bound, many insurgents would have joined them. Every effort is being made thoroughly to disarm the whole country. This will prove our great security.

6. [*This paragraph relates to the withdrawal of Prize Agents from Delhi and will be found in Chapter VIII, page 276.*]

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 228.

(TRANSLATIONS.)

Letter from the Officers of the Rebel Army to the address of the Officers of the Ulwur Government, without date (received by the Ulwur officers on the 12th November).

Letters from the Jodhpur Legion to the Alwar Troops.

OUR friends, you are well aware that we, your friends, gave up all our comforts and large livelihoods and the great power which we enjoyed, and have come over here for the sake of God and our religions (Mahomedanism and Hindooism).

We do not meddle with any except the enemies of our faiths; yea we do not injure any Chiefs, or the people of the country. But we do not well know with what object you are pursuing us, your friends. Therefore we trouble you with the request that on the perusal of this letter you will communicate to us, for our information, in detail, whatever may be your real object, whether you have any intention of interfering with us, your friends, on the part of your master, or whether it is your desire to aid the English. It is proper that you answer this letter on oath, as you have faith in the Ganges and the Koran.

Letters from the Jodhpur Legion to the Alwar Troops.

It is also understood that at the present time the infidels have an angry eye upon the Maharaja. If the Maharaja may send for us on oath, and be disposed to aid us, all will be right, and we will fight strenuously against the infidels on the part of the Maharaja, *i. e.*, we will acknowledge fealty to His Highness, and carry out whatever orders he may issue to us, and hope for his kindness.

Whoever has united with the infidels (who deserve to be slaughtered) has been ruined in the end. So will the Maharaja also reap the fruits of his own acts at last, and there will be no help, as says the sage: "The covetous never prosper." Therefore, avoiding this course of conduct, you should keep in mind your religions, and you will then prosper. This has been written for your information.

P. S.—The cunning of the Europeans is notorious. They will make the Hindostanees fight against each other, and thus causing them to be slain, gain their own object. And the loss will be that of the Hindostanees.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 228.

From all the Sirdars and Officers of the Army of Martyrs to the Officers of the Ulwur Force,—dated Narnoul in the Jhujjur Territory, 10th November 1857.*

YOUR kind letter arrived at a time when we were anxiously looking for it, and we have been much obliged. You, our brethren, have not answered fully, what we, your friends, wrote to you. We have been much surprised at this. Perhaps you did not take it into your consideration. It is trusted that on reading this letter you will send us, poor people, a detailed and full reply according as you may consider proper, so that we may be satisfied. Otherwise we will be left in doubt.

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*NOTE.—In the original the date is entered *22nd Rubbee-ool-Sanee.* This is an error. The 22nd *Rubbee-ool-Sanee* corresponds with 10th December.

229. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, Calcutta,—No. 79, dated Lahore, 10th December 1857.*

BY desire of the Chief Commissioner I have the honor to annex copies of various documents of interest connected with present affairs. The Punjab Troops appear to have behaved with great spirit in the action at Narnoul. Lieutenant G. Pearse, who commanded the Cavalry and has repeatedly distinguished himself during the present insurrection, was unfortunately severely wounded. He is an officer of much merit.

Gallant behaviour of Punjab Troops at Narnaul. Lieutenant G. Pearse wounded.

2. The affair also with the insurgent Mehwattees in the Gurgaon District is very creditable to Captain Drummond and the other officers engaged. Since this event the Mehwattees have quite succumbed.

Operations against Mehwattis.

3. [*This paragraph relates to the execution of offenders at Delhi and will be found in Chapter X, page 365.*]

4. In the Punjab matters progress favourably. In Peshawur the sickness still however continues. On the 2nd a fine battalion of newly raised Police marched for Delhie, and the corps intended for Benares makes fair progress.

Sickness at Peshâwar.

5. A number of fugitive Seikhs from mutinous regiments are now making their appearance in the Punjab, and several have been arrested and punished. Five sepoys of the Loodhiana Regiment were hung a few days ago at Jalundher, and two others have received a similar sentence. Those of Hindostanee Regiments which murdered their officers have been only sentenced to transportation on the grounds that they were, to a considerable extent, under intimidation.

Punishment of fugitive Sikhs from mutinous regiments.

6. [*This paragraph relates to the trial of the ex-King of Delhi and will be found in Chapter X, page 366.*]

7. It has been more than once stated in the public papers that the late Miss Jennings was horribly outraged before being murdered. The Chief Commissioner did not believe that this was the case, for Captain MacAndrew early in June after careful enquiry ascertained that the young lady with Miss Clifford

Circumstances connected with the murders of Miss Jennings and Miss Clifford at Delhi.

were killed while at breakfast. The Commissioner of Delhie has again made close enquiry regarding this sad tragedy, and now reports that it has been ascertained beyond doubt that neither of these young ladies were abused, and that both were slain on the spot, as originally stated.

NOTE.—For reply see 233 (page 261).

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 229.

From General H. C. VAN CORTLANDT, C. B., Commanding Hurrianah Field Force, to Lieutenant-Colonel J. D. MACPHERSON, Military Secretary to the Chief Commissioner,—No. 15, dated Camp Hansee, 23rd November 1857.

Defeat of the Jodhpur mutineers at Narnaul.

I HAVE the honor to forward, for the information of the Chief Commissioner, copy of a report by Captain Stafford, Commanding a detachment of my force, regarding the action of the 16th instant at Narnoul, under Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrard, with the Joudhpoor mutineers and other rebels.

The whole of the troops, and especially the Cavalry, seem to have behaved remarkably well; the enemy were completely defeated and the whole of their guns taken.

Captain Bloomfield was left unwell at Kanoud and the command of the 23rd Punjab Infantry devolved on Lieutenant Hunt in this engagement.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 229.

Report by Captain W. J. F. STAFFORD, Commanding Detachment, Hurrianah Field Force,—dated Camp Narnoul, 18th November 1857.

Report on the action at Narnaul.

FOR the information of Captain J. P. Caulfield, Commanding Moveable Column, I have the honor to report the part which the force under my immediate command took in the engagement of the 16th instant at Narnoul with the Joudhpoor Legion and other rebels.

Punjab Mounted Police	70	sabres.
Esa Khel Horse ...	90	
Towannah „ ...	90	
Artillery	4	6-pounders.
23rd Punjab Infantry	500	bayonets.
Putteeala Infantry ...	260	„

2. When we had passed the village of Nusseerpoor, about ¼ of a mile from the enemy's position, the force, in obedience

to Lieutenant-Colonel J. G. Gerrard's orders, advanced at deploying distance,—23rd Punjab Infantry on the right, guns in the centre, and Putteeala Infantry on the left, the Cavalry being on the extreme left.

3. The force was soon directed to deploy and the advance was ordered. After two of the enemy's guns were taken, the advance still continued in the same order until we came to the dry bed of a river. Lieutenant G. G. Pearse, Commanding Cavalry of the Hurrianah Force, was, I much regret to say, here wounded in two places, and the command devolved upon Lieutenant R. A. Hamilton. The guns being unable to cross the nullah, they diverged to the right, and took up a position near the Horse Artillery guns; whilst the 23rd Punjab Infantry and Putteeala Infantry, in company with 1st Fusiliers, crossed and advanced towards the enemy's camp, which was soon taken, two guns falling into our possession. By order of Captain Caulfield, the Infantry under my command returned to where our guns were in position. Some time after this, and when the rebels had returned to their camp and commenced firing round shot at us with one of the guns which had previously been taken, I was directed to re-occupy the camp with two companies of the 1st Fusiliers and two companies of the 23rd Punjab Infantry, some Cavalry, with which Lieutenant Hamilton was, having been despatched to the left to follow up the mutineers when routed. The camp was attacked in flank, and the gun which had been annoying us was gallantly charged and taken by the 1st Fusiliers, led by Lieutenant Warner. The guns were ordered to be removed, and the Infantry was directed to remain in the enemy's camp. I was returned to where the remainder of my force was, and shortly afterwards the serae was taken possession of.

Lieutenant G. G. Pearse, Commanding the Cavalry of the Hariána Field Force, wounded.

Lieutenant R. A. Hamilton takes command.

Enemy's camp taken.

Return of the rebels.

Enemy's camp attacked and gun taken by the 1st Fusiliers under Lieutenant Warner.

4. My very best thanks are due to all, but more especially to Lieutenants Pearse and Hamilton, Commanding the Cavalry, Lieutenant Hunt, Commanding 23rd Punjab Infantry, and Lieutenant Walcott, Commanding Artillery, and whose gunners, lately embodied, behaved remarkably well. My thanks are also due to Sub-Assistant Surgeon P. A. Minas, in medical charge, for his attention to the wounded.

Services of Lieutenants Pearse, Hamilton, Hunt and Walcott, and Sub-Assistant Surgeon P. A. Minas.

Services of Lieutenant Chatterton, 23rd Punjab Infantry, and Native officers of levies;

5. Lieutenant Hunt makes favorable mention of Lieutenant Chatterton, Officiating Adjutant, 23rd Punjab Infantry, and Lieutenant Hamilton brings to notice the gallant conduct of Ressaldar Ubdoolla Khan, Esa Khel Horse, Allum Khan, Towannah Horse, and Shere Mahomed Khan, Mounted Police. Ressaldar Allum Khan's conduct deserves special commendation, for when the enemy returned to their camp he took up a position near a temple and retained it until a reinforcement was brought up, when I saw him there myself. It was here that the Towannahs lost many horses. Lieutenant Walcott reports as follows on the conduct of Sergeant-Major J. H. Jackson, and I have much pleasure in bearing testimony to it:

also of Sergeant-Major J. H. Jackson.

"I much wish to call your attention to the assistance rendered me by Sergeant-Major J. H. Jackson throughout the day,—assistance peculiarly valuable in consequence of my being myself an Infantry officer."

6. I beg to enclose a return of killed and wounded.

ENCLOSURE (3) TO 229.

Casualties at Narnaul.

Return of killed and wounded in the Detachment, Hurrianah Field Force, in the action of the 16th November 1857, fought at Narnoul.

	Killed.		Wounded.						Missing.
	Rank and file.	Horses.	European officers.	Jemadars.	Havildars.	Rank and file.	Horses.	Bullocks.	Horses.
Punjab Mounted Police	...	7	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Esa Khel Horse ...	2	1	1	...	...	2	...	...	2
Towannah Horse ...	...	8	...	...	...	3	...	...	...
Artillery	...	...	...	..	...	2	...	1	...
23rd Punjab Infantry ...	1	...	...	1	2	7	...	...	...
Total ..	3	16	1	1	2	15	...	1	2

Name of European officer wounded—Lieutenant G. G. Pearse, Commanding Cavalry.

W. J. F. STAFFORD, CAPTAIN,

Commanding Detachment, Hurrianah Field Force.

ENCLOSURE (4) TO 229.

From Lieutenant-Colonel J. D. MACPHERSON, Military Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to General H. C. VAN CORTLANDT, C. B., Commanding Hurrianah Field Force, Hansee,—No. 8124, dated Lahore, 1st December 1857.

I AM in receipt of your letter No. 15 of the 23rd instant, forwarding the report of Captain Stafford of the share taken by the detachment of the Hurrianah Field Force in the action at Narnoul on the 16th ultimo.

Defeat of enemy at Narnaul.

2. The Chief Commissioner is much gratified to learn that the conduct of the men on that occasion was so creditable and the result so successful, and desires that you will convey to Captain Stafford and the officers and men employed with him at Narnoul this expression of his appreciation of their gallant and soldierly conduct on that occasion.

Captain Stafford and officers under him thanked by Sir John Lawrence.

ENCLOSURE (5) TO 229.

From C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Offg. Commissioner and Agent, Lieutenant-Governor, Dehli, to the Military Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 49, dated Dehli, 23rd November 1857.

I HAVE the honor to forward, for the information of the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, the accompanying copy of a report from Captain Drummond, in command of a detachment at Sonah in the Goorgaon District, detailing the highly successful result of an attack made by him on the 19th November on the insurgent Mehwattees at Roopraka, in the neighbourhood of Hutteen, and also a copy of my letter No. 1 of this day's date to that officer in acknowledgment of the services performed by him and the officers and men under his command on that occasion.

Successful attack by Captain P. Drummond, Commanding a detachment at Sona, on the Mehwattis at Rúpraka.

ENCLOSURE (6) TO 229.

From Captain P. DRUMMOND, Commanding the late 22nd Native Infantry Detachment at Sonah,—dated Camp Hutteen, 19th November 1857.

IN the absence of Mr. Ford with the Column on service, I deem it my duty to inform you that, having received intelli-

Report by Captain Drummond on the action with the Mehwattis at Rúpraka.

gence through the Native officials of Sonah, Hutteen and Pulwul that several thousand Meyos and a few hundred Cavalry were congregated about Kote and Roopraka in the Goorgaon District and had for three consecutive days attacked Hutteen, a friendly village occupied by Rajpoots, with the intention of sacking and destroying it and afterwards advancing on Pulwul, the Government Treasury at which would have fallen into their hands, I considered it expedient to check their encroachments and arrest such a disaster by acting on the offensive against them. The following are the particulars of my operations :—

Leaving a small party of the Towana Horse and a complete company of the Police Infantry under Lieutenant Grant for the protection of the town of Sonah, I advanced to this place yesterday with 50 of Hodson's and 59 of the Towana Horse, and an adequate proportion of Native officers and 119 rank and file, Kumaon Battalion, with Lieutenants Temple and Wroughton. I was reinforced this morning by a company, 1st Punjab Infantry (Coke's), under Lieutenant Grant, from Bullubgurh, and proceeded with the above force to attack the enemy.

Puchanka.
Gohpoor.
Malpoorie.
Chillee.
Roopraka.
Ootawur.
Kote.
Mungla Meetaka.
Kullooka.
Gooraksur.
Mallooka.
Jhanda.

The Mehwattee villages detailed in the margin, together with such crops as were stacked, were burned by my force. At Roopraka only I met with some resistance. The enemy drawn up in front of it under shelter of trees and walls opened on us a smart match-lock fire; my men reserved theirs until they approached to within 100 yards, when, having fired a volley, they rushed on them with the bayonet. The Meyos fled in confusion, and our Infantry, fighting their way through the village, succeeded in killing about 50 within and beyond it, and the Cavalry cut them up as they retired.

I estimate their numbers at about 3,500 and their loss in killed at least at 400 men.

Our casualties, as detailed in accompanying list, are, I am happy to say, very small.

Report by Captain Drummond on the action with the Mehwattis at Rúpraka.

I have every reason to hope that the object I had in view in thus acting on the offensive has been attained, for not only have the Meyos been defeated, their villages and property burnt and destroyed, but the friendly Jat villages who have hitherto been kept in a state of siege by constant aggressions on the part of their enemies, being relieved in some degree from all apprehension, are now at liberty to return to their out-of-door occupations.

The Meyos, too, of these parts, seeing the hopelessness and folly of further offensive demonstrations, will, it is anticipated from the lesson that has been taught them, be induced to tender speedily their submission to the authorities.

Casualties at Rúpraka.

Detail of killed, wounded and missing in the action at Roopraka on the 19th November 1857.

Detail.	Remarks.
Tawana Horse.	
2 Troopers	Missing.
1 Trooper	Wounded slightly.
5 Horses	Killed.
3 "	Wounded.
Hodson's Horse.	
1 Horse	Killed.
1 "	Wounded.
1st Punjab Infantry.	
1 Sepoy	Wounded severely.

Casualties at Rúpraka.

Detail of killed, wounded and missing in the action at Roopraka on the 19th November 1857—concluded.

Detail.	REMARKS.
Kumaon Battalion.	
1 Sepoy	Wounded very slightly.
1 Bhestee	Missing.

CAMP HUTTEEN: *19th November 1857.* } P. DRUMMOND, CAPTAIN, *Commanding the Detachment.*

ENCLOSURE (7) TO 229.

From C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Offg. Commissioner, Dehli, to Captain P. DRUMMOND, Commanding the Detachment at Sonah,—No. 1, dated Dehli, 23rd November 1857.

Action with the Mehwattis at Rúpraka. Acknowledgment of services of Captain Drummond.

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 19th November 1857, giving an interesting account of the measures which you so judiciously and promptly took for the relief of Hutteen, a friendly Rajpoot village in the Goorgaon District, which had been attacked by the insurgent Mehwattees of that neighbourhood, and for the protection of the Government treasure at Pulwul.

The conduct of all, both officers and men, engaged in the attack on Roopraka is deserving of the highest praise. The Mehwattees, 3,500 strong, with every advantage of cover and choice of position, appear to have been entirely routed and dispersed by a small, but disciplined and gallant, band, who numerically did not exceed a tithe of their opponents. The signal punishment inflicted upon the enemy by the burning of their villages, the destruction of their stacks, and the loss of 400 men of their number slain in the engagement at Roopraka will, I have no doubt, be productive of the best effects as well in showing the Meyos the folly of resistance to the British Government, as in evincing our determination to support and protect the loyal subjects of the State against lawless aggression on the part of their refractory neighbours.

I have forwarded a copy of your report to the Chief Commissioners of the Punjab and North-Western Provinces for their information, and beg to tender my thanks to you and the officers under your command, for the energy and zeal displayed by you on this occasion, and my congratulations on the successful result of your operations.

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230. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 80, dated Lahore, 11th December 1857.*

Plans suggested for the management of the Peshâwar Valley and Sir John Lawrence's views thereon.

IN continuation of my letter No. 69,* dated 14th October last, I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to annex copies of the correspondence† marginally noted, and to offer the following observations.

*207 (page 139).

†Letter No. 1029, dated 6th ultimo, from the Commissioner of Peshawur, with enclosures from Brigadier-General Cotton.

2. In these documents three plans for the management of the Peshawur Valley are discussed, all of which differ from the one hitherto pursued, which was, that of holding the country by a large mixed force, composed partly of European Troops and partly of Regular and Irregular Native Troops. The first is to have a force entirely composed of Punjab Irregular Troops, which is the plan advocated by Brigadier-General N. Chamberlain and Lieutenant-Colonel Edwardes. The second course is to hold the valley by a mixed force of European and Punjabee Troops, which Brigadier-General Cotton recommends. The third, to withdraw from the valley altogether, as well as from Kohat, is that to which the Chief Commissioner himself inclines.

3. The advantages of the first plan have been fully set forth by the Commissioner of Peshawur. Its main features are the saving of European Troops from the malaria of the valley, the manifest advantage of holding it by a body of troops especially adapted for the service, and unencumbered with the large number of families and followers, which form a necessary part of the impedimenta of a European Force; the facility also of

Views of Sir John Lawrence regarding the management of the Pesháwar Valley.

selecting all the European officers from the Commander downwards; lastly, the benefit to the army by the school which the frontier affords to our officers. All these are great and undeniable advantages.

4. The expediency of the first plan is supported by the experience afforded by the success of the arrangements in the Derajat and Kohat. The Chief Commissioner, however, considers that, while there are many points in which the character of the Western Border in the two localities is similar, there are others in which they widely differ.

5. That such is the case will be evident from the simple fact that the force in the Peshawur Valley has hitherto been more than double the strength of that which has been found sufficient to occupy and defend all the rest of the Western Frontier, full 500 miles in length. And, though it may be urged, with truth, that the Irregular Force in the latter was in many respects more suited to the duty than was the Peshawur Force for its duties, still it cannot be controverted that the inherent difficulties of managing the Peshawur Valley are of no ordinary character. Even the officers who would hold the valley solely by Irregular Troops would maintain a large European Force in its vicinity, on the left bank of the Indus.

6. While the Chief Commissioner fully admits the good conduct of the Punjab Troops during the present insurrection, he cannot concur with the views of the Commissioner of Peshawur as to the degree of confidence which should be placed in them. It is indeed undeniable that the Punjabee Troops, in the present crisis, have behaved admirably, and the Chief Commissioner fully admits that had a similar body been cantoned in the Peshawur Valley it is but reasonable to conclude that they would have acted equally well.

7. But the question ought not to be confined to the present time. The real point is, are these Punjabee Troops so constituted and so organized as to be thoroughly reliable under all circumstances? The present insurrection has been altogether a Hindoostanee one, and may be said to have been *con-*

Views of Sir John Lawrence regarding the management of the Peshâwar Valley.

fined to those troops. It spread to the Hindoostanee soldiers of the Bombay Army, but apparently no further. It extended also to those of the Punjab Force. The Hindoostanee sowars of the 1st and 2nd Punjab Cavalry deserted before Delhi in numbers to the mutineers; we only saved the rest by removing them from its vicinity, and even then some deserted. The furlough men have generally not returned. In the corps of Cavalry and Infantry trans Indus we have had to discharge a number of men. Certain Native officers of the 2nd Punjab Cavalry even conspired to murder their officers, and attempted to induce the 1st Punjab Infantry to join them in the execrable deed and desert to the enemy.

8. When the insurrection broke out the Punjab Force was placed under most fortunate circumstances for government. It was admirably commanded, and, as a body, the officers were both popular and respected. The troops had been inured to war by constant service on a dangerous and difficult frontier, where they were fully employed.

9. The Punjabee soldiers disliked and despised the Hindoostanee Troops. They owed them a grudge for their boasting conduct, as well as for the advantages the latter enjoyed; they did not believe in their grievances, and were glad of the chance of fighting on a side which offered an opportunity of honor and profit. The Sikh had a traditional hatred against Delhi. But the case of the Hindoostanees to-day may be that of the Punjabees to-morrow. The sense of numbers and relative strength has tempted the Hindoostanee to rebel. Similar circumstances may produce like results with the Punjabees. The very merits of the latter would increase the danger. The Pathan and Sikh are more warlike, more hardy, more resolute than the "Poorbea." It may be doubted if they are naturally as docile: assuredly the Pathan is not. The Afghan Irregulars deserted and betrayed their officers in the Cabul War; and it is incredible that the Punjabee soldiers would have remained faithful had we been worsted before Delhi. No races can well hate each other more cordially than Sikh and Pathan; yet they have united against us.

Views of Sir John Lawrence regarding the management of the Peshâwar Valley.

10. It is true that the number of troops proposed for Peshawur is very moderate, perhaps more so than would be found sufficient. We began by allotting one regiment of Infantry for Kohat and have found three necessary. The Chief Commissioner does not think that, with the proposed quota of troops, we could ever enter the hills to punish an offending tribe.

11. If we maintain an European Force at Peshawur and Nowshera, we can always reinforce it with comparatively little difficulty. As the supporting troops advance to aid assured friends, they can move in comparatively small numbers. Moreover, the very presence of European Troops has an immense tendency to maintain order. This influence is much weakened by their withdrawal, even to a small distance.

12. If the valley, however, be held by Punjabee Irregulars, and all the European Troops be cantoned cis Indus, the Chief Commissioner believes that it is a mistake to assume that in the event of any sudden emergency we should always be ready to cross the Indus with the necessary promptitude. A mutiny at Peshawur would be simultaneous with an insurrection in the valley. We should have the whole Militia of that valley and the adjacent hills in arms. The most favorable season of the year would be selected, and that, of course, would be the time most injurious to our soldiers. We should then have to delay, in order to collect a large force, and for the healthy season; and delay would give strength and consistency to the insurrection.

13. Bearing in mind, therefore, the importance of having troops on the spot; considering also the enormous sums which have been laid out on barrack accommodation in the Peshawur Valley; and that we have never even tried the climate of Nowshera by keeping a European Regiment there for a whole season, the Chief Commissioner recommends that the second plan, which he has described as that of General S. Cotton's, be tried. Under any circumstances this would appear to be the proper course at present, for we cannot, for a considerable period, construct barracks on the left bank of the Indus

sufficient to accommodate the requisite number of European Troops. Nowshera may not prove a healthy station, but it certainly appears to be beyond the immediate malarial influence of the valley.

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14. While the Chief Commissioner fully believes, with the Military and Civil authorities, that no measures will make Peshawur itself a healthy cantonment, he conceives that something might be effected to render it less insalubrious than at present. We cut down and destroy every native garden near cantonments, we even forbid irrigation within a certain distance, while we allow the cantonment itself to be covered with gardens abundantly saturated with water. This should not be allowed.

15. Again, while Natives become to a certain extent acclimated at Peshawur, Europeans become yearly more debilitated, more susceptible of disease. It would therefore be highly expedient, as proposed by General Cotton, that these troops be limited in number, and be constantly changed. Those to be retained during the sickly months should be fresh soldiers from the Cis-Indus side, and hereafter, if Nowshera proved a healthy station, of which there seems a fair hope, a greater portion of the Europeans might be collected there, and fewer retained at Peshawur.

16. As regards the Artillery, the Chief Commissioner recommends that all but the Mountain Train be manned by Europeans, provided European Infantry be kept in the Peshawur Valley. But if the force is to consist of Punjabees, the Artillery must be manned by them likewise. It is obviously useless keeping European Artillery there alone. He considers that it is a manifest evil entrusting guns to Native soldiers, and where practicable it should be avoided. Under certain circumstances, however, the arrangement seems unavoidable; and, provided these be rare, they cannot be of vital importance. The moral effect of guns on all Natives is very marked. A few soldiers with guns will make head against great odds in numbers without them. And the fact that guns were not entrusted to Native Troops would tend to deter them from

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mischief. The Mountain Train guns are, however, of too small a calibre to be of much importance, and they are doubtless more useful when manned by Natives than by Europeans.

17. The Chief Commissioner has recommended the second plan, *viz.*, that of holding the Peshawur Valley with a mixed force of European and Native Troops, in preference to entrusting the duty to Native Troops only. But he is strongly inclined to the opinion that the best policy would be to make the whole valley and Kohat over to the Afghans, and confine ourselves to the line of the Indus in that quarter. The Chief Commissioner has arrived at this conclusion after careful consideration and much reluctance. His views were all the other way. It has only been by slow degrees and after long consideration that he has formed this opinion.

18. It is difficult to decide absolutely whether a range of mountains or a mighty river forms the best boundary to a great country. Much must depend on local circumstances. If we possessed any real control over the inhabitants of the Solymanie Range; if there were any chance of their being on our side; if even a fair hope existed of their remaining neutral, the mountain range might prove our best barrier. But such is not at all probable. Ancient and modern conquerors have proved that even when the inhabitants are hostile mountain barriers can be surmounted with no great loss by able and intrepid Generals. The invaders from Central Asia never found the Solymanie Range any great obstacle to them. An invader now, however, would be in a very different position from such Chiefs. But why should he attempt the passage at a time when our troops were able to take the field with effect? Why could he not manœuvre at Jellallabad, so as to necessitate our occupying the valley in force, where without adequate shelter it would prove to our troops worse than a second Walcheren.

19. The passes through the Solymanie Range for a Regular Army are indeed few and well known. In the event of an invasion, however, we should be compelled to guard the whole line. The inhabitants would be incited by fanaticism and the love of plunder to join, and a thousand glens and defiles would

allow these mountain banditti to pour forth and harass our communications.

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20. It may appear strange, but the Chief Commissioner believes it to be true, that we are more likely to have the people of the mountain range as well as of the valley on our side if we do not occupy the country up to the foot of the hills than if we do. Whatever may be the substantial advantages of our rule, and he believes them to be great, that rule is undeniably irksome to all the active, enterprising, restless and fanatic spirits of the border. The mass of the people, at the best, are passive, and even they will join against us if worked on by religious preachers or a love of plunder. Do we not see in the present insurrection how the inherent vices of certain races depressed for a time have again broken forth. The thieving Goojur, the plundering Mawattie, the murdering Bheel have resumed the habits of their forefathers. Now all the worst defects of a predatory and barbarous race are strongly developed in the Pathan races. If they have no foreign enemy with whom to struggle they fight at home. Clan plunders clan; family attacks family; and even the members of the same family are often at deadly feud.

21. The justice, the clemency, the liberal treatment of the hated Feringhee comes out, however, in strong relief under Native rule, and when it has passed away is remembered and even regretted.

22. The Chief Commissioner believes that we shall do well to have no more Pathans in our army than we can thoroughly manage. These men will best appreciate the service when their homes are unsafe and their fields untilled. It is proverbial that under present circumstances no sooner does a Pathan of the border collect a little money in our service than he gives it up and takes to his plough. Under a Native Government he has little prospect of enjoying the fruits of his labors.

23. The line of the Indus possesses the following advantages over that of the mountain range. It is considerably shorter, and therefore requires fewer troops for its defence.

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The river is, in itself, a mighty bulwark, broad, deep, and rapid. It has no fords. Maharaja Runjeet Singh once indeed crossed his Cavalry near Torbeila into Eusufzaie, but he lost 500 horsemen in so doing. An able Engineer, at a moderate cost, could make the left bank of the Indus impregnable against an invader. The boats would be all on our side, secure under our batteries. On the right bank of the Indus there is no timber procurable, from which to form rafts, even if an enemy dared to essay the passage. It would do him little good that a man, well accustomed to the river, could cross on an inflated bullock's hide, or even carry one or two others on a similar contrivance. The Chief Commissioner does not affirm that the passage of the Indus would be impracticable to a military body under any circumstances, but that in the presence of an enemy of any ordinary activity it ought to prove ruinous to all those who effected a landing on the left bank.

24. Again, in a strong position cis Indus we should be among a comparatively civilized and obedient people. We should be in a healthy country close to our resources. All along the Indus down to Kalabagh the bank is steep, high and rugged; and up to this point we might have steamers plying all the year round, a great addition to our strength.

25. And for what objects do we hold Peshawur and Kohat which could not be attained by the occupation of the left bank of the Indus in strength? These districts cost us, under the best arrangements, at least fourfold their income. This money, otherwise expended, would add to our material resources greatly. We neither really conciliate the people nor the Afghan nation. If the friendship of the Afghans is to be gained, if it indeed be worth having, this object is more likely to be accomplished by surrendering these important possessions, which to them would prove invaluable, but to us will ever continue a fruitful source of danger, expense and loss of life. So long as we hold Peshawur the Afghans must have a strong inducement to side against us in any invasion of India.

26. By confining our possessions to the line of the Indus as far down as the confines of Bunnoo, we should avoid the

necessity of maintaining a large body of Native Troops, in round numbers probably 10,000 men. If there be any one lesson which late events should impress on our minds, it is the great evil of having large bodies of well-drilled, well-armed Native Troops.* But with a widely extended territory it will not be found possible to avoid this. We can neither supply the number, nor afford the cost of sufficient European soldiers. And even if this were possible, would it be desirable? The annual loss of life would prove enormous. If these views be sound, it follows that we should withdraw from outlying and insalubrious districts.

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*An old Sikh officer, relating a conversation which he had with a Hindoostanee comrade, made the following striking remark: "He said that the proportion the Europeans bore to the Hindoostanees was that which the salt at a man's meal bore to the rest of the food."

(Sd.) J. L.

27. It may be urged that if we surrender Peshawur and Kohat, we shall eventually be compelled to give up the Derajat also, and perhaps Sindh. The Chief Commissioner does not think that this will be necessary. The Derajat indeed, but for the advantage of holding both banks of the Indus, is not worth having. It never has, nor can pay the cost of its occupation. The people, however, are of a very different character from those of Kohat and Peshawur, and the inhabitants of the adjacent mountains are more manageable than those of the range further north. The navigability of the Indus up to Kalabagh, by properly constructed steamers, would prove a great advantage. However, in the event of formidable invasion from the westward, it would be a question whether we should not, for a time, abandon the Derajat, and confine ourselves to the line of the Indus.

28. The Kohat and Peshawur Frontier is, doubtless, a good school for our officers; even this may be purchased at too great a cost. Brigadiers-General Chamberlain and Nicholson would have been still excellent soldiers without having served on this part of the border. The latter indeed never served in it until just before the insurrection broke out. Both officers acquired their training and experience in the two Cabul and two Sikh campaigns.

Views of Sir John Lawrence regarding the management of the Peshâwar Valley.

29. The great disadvantages of that frontier are more especially apparent under our system. Both our Civil and Military arrangements, and more particularly the latter, are not suited to its requirements. Our principles of rule, the very peculiarities of our national character, do not meet them. Our sense of justice, our consideration for private rights and vested interests lead us to deal too tenderly and tardily with offenders. Our complicated system detracts from the proper force and energy of our rule. In our Military system it is only by a lucky accident that an able officer holds a high command. Should any misfortune happen to him, it is scarcely possible that the Second-in-Command will prove equal to the post if its difficulties be great. The practical difficulty of setting aside personal interests, the claims of seniority and rank are very great, and, except in times of actual calamity, insurmountable. It has indeed been a fortunate accident that we have had at Peshawur in the present crisis officers well able to meet the storm. The case might altogether have been reversed.

30. The Peshawur Valley has doubtless been wonderfully peaceful during the last five months. We have had, however, sufficient indications how great a flame a small spark might kindle. Any delay in trampling out the first evidences of revolt or turbulence would have resulted in a general insurrection. We keep the valley in peace, to some extent, by entertaining its turbulent and discontented spirits. This is one of the necessities of our position, which adds considerably to our burthens, and has other drawbacks. Many of these men, when revolt becomes general, could not be reckoned on to fight on our side.

31. Neither the Punjab nor India generally are really a whit more secure by our holding the line of the Solymanie Range than that of the Indus. So long as we are strong in the country we have really nothing to fear. It may be safely predicted that there is but one kind of invasion from the West which can ever prove formidable; there is but one which will ever occur so long as we are strong at home. Our danger in India, as has been proved, and as some have foreseen, was much more from within than from without.

Views of Sir John Lawrence regarding the management of the Peshâwar Valley.

32. If Government resolve to maintain the present boundary, the Chief Commissioner earnestly counsels that the best arrangements possible be adopted with promptitude. The command at Peshawur should always be held by an officer of approved ability and vigorous constitution. *All* the officers employed in command of Native Troops should be carefully selected, and be removable at pleasure, simply in the event of their not giving satisfaction. The cantonments in the valley should be all defensible places; strong and expensive fortifications are not required, but simple defences, where a few soldiers could resist numbers. The portion occupied by the European soldiers should be separate, and command that in which the Native Troops reside. The European Troops should be constantly changed, and those intended for the sickly season be sent there only just before its commencement. Facilities for the rapid transit of European soldiers should always be kept up; buildings at the different stages and on both banks of the Indus for their accommodation should be constructed. Good substantial serais, such as we have built in the Goojerat District, would answer very well. The road between Rawulpindee and Peshawur should be finished, and, if possible, a bridge over the Indus constructed. A new cantonment as near as may be practicable to the left bank of the Indus should be authorized, and tried experimentally for one season. Arrangements should be made for keeping all the bulk of our military stores on the left bank of the Indus.

33. The Commissioner of Peshawur proposes that there should be a Ghorka Regiment at Nowshera. This would be a good plan if Ghorkas were abundant. Government have only four Ghorka Corps nominally. One is really composed of men from the districts in the vicinity of Almorah, a very inferior race. Even in one of the other three corps many of the men are not Ghorkas. Recruits of this race are obtainable with the utmost difficulty, and are usually prohibited from ever returning to their own country. It is then of primary importance to keep these corps in the hills, where they are contented and healthy, so that in any emergency they may be brought into the field in the utmost efficiency.

Views of Sir John Lawrence regarding the management of the Pesháwar Valley.

34. The Chief Commissioner quite concurs in the expediency of arming all the Frontier Corps with rifles. Soldiers with any inferior weapon cannot punish the hill men and save themselves. But this rifle should be the common one. Nothing should induce Government to place the Enfield rifle in the hands of Native Troops. This is of more importance than even keeping our guns in the hands of Europeans, as far as possible.

35. A new site for a cantonment on the left bank of the Indus, about 20 miles from Attock, has been selected by Brigadier-General S. Cotton, and the papers will be forwarded to Government on the receipt of the map of the ground.

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 230.

From Lieutenant-Colonel H. B. EDWARDES, C. B., Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawur Division, to Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 1029, dated Peshawur, 6th November 1857.

Opinion of Colonel H. B. Edwardes, C.B., Commissioner, Pesháwar, in regard to the management of the Pesháwar Valley.

IN reply to your letter No. 69 B. of 14th October, I have now the honor to forward copy of a letter of 30th October from Brigadier-General Cotton, Commanding the Peshawur Division, to my address, conveying the General's *opinion* on certain suggestions made by the Chief Commissioner to Government for the cantonment of the European Troops west of the Jheylum, primarily during the year 1858 and *ultimately* for a continuance.

2. At the Chief Commissioner's desire I beg to add my own opinion upon these questions.

3. It seems now agreed upon all hands that the Peshawur Valley is extraordinarily unhealthy for Europeans, and that it is desirable to have as few there at any time as possible. The only moot points are, firstly, how many will suffice for 1858, and, secondly, how many in future?

4. General Cotton has well observed that no reduction of Europeans at Peshawur can be effected till the mass of Hindoostanee sepoys now there have been disposed of. To effect

this and make new arrangements will require time and deliberation, and I should fear that it may not be found possible to progress further during the present winter than the distribution of European Troops sketched out by the Chief Commissioner, *viz.*,—

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1 European Regiment at Peshawur.
1 „ „ at Nowshera.
1 „ „ divided between Attock and the new station in Chuch (site not yet determined).
2 „ Regiments at Rawulpindee.

But if the Hindoostanee sepoys can be materially reduced, the Europeans at Peshawur could be, to an equivalent extent, reduced also, either during the spring or at any time (by help of the Land Transport Train) before the sickly autumn comes round again.

5. The main question, however, is as to the permanent garrison of the valley, and I remain decidedly of the opinion, which Brigadier Neville Chamberlain and myself had an opportunity of jointly expressing to the Chief Commissioner a year ago, *viz.*, that it would be far better to have no European Troops in the Peshawur Valley, but to remove them all across the Indus, to the nearest suitable point in Chuch, and hold Peshawur with Irregular Troops like the rest of the Trans-Indus Frontier.

6. That opinion has been brought to the severest possible test by the convulsions through which we have been passing this last hot weather, and I firmly adhere to it.

7. Had there been an Irregular Garrison at Peshawur, it is only fair to suppose that the mutiny of the Bengal Army would no more have entered this valley than Kohat and the Derajat, where the Punjab Irregular Regiments were stationed. So aloof did the Punjab Irregulars there stand from the mutiny that disaffected regiments of Hindoostanees, horse and foot, were expressly marched from the interior of the Punjab into the Derajat, in order that they might be overawed and coerced by the Punjab Irregulars. And they *were* overawed

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and disarmed and kept down by those Irregular Troops, and when the mutiny broke out at Peshawur among the Hindoostanee Regiments, Irregular (Punjab) Regiments were called into the valley to join the European Regiments in coercing the sepoys. Therefore it is right to assume that had there been no Hindoostanee Regiments here there would have been no mutiny. I submit that the late mutiny no more impugns the wisdom of introducing Irregular Native Troops at Peshawur without Europeans than it does the wisdom of keeping them on as usual without Europeans at Kohat, Bunnoo, Dera Ishmail Khan and Dera Ghazee Khan.

8. On the contrary, it would seem clearly demonstrated that had Irregulars been in occupation of Peshawur, and the reserve of Europeans located in Chuch, those Europeans would have been available for service in the Punjab instead of being locked up inextricably at Peshawur.

9. The above remarks are made with reference to the 4th paragraph of General Cotton's despatch, in which the General draws from recent events the inference that we ought not to withdraw the European soldiery altogether from the Peshawur District.

10. And similarly I do not think that the inference in your 11th paragraph can be fairly drawn, that because there are considerable bodies of Irregulars (who have proved faithful during this mutiny) at Kohat, therefore another such body ought not to be trusted at Peshawur. Such a conclusion would have been undoubtedly come to had the Irregulars at Kohat mutinied, and their not mutinying should be credited, not debited, to the system.

11. I do not mean to say that Irregular Native Troops are exempt from mutiny, but only that recent events have told very much in their favor, and shewn them to be of a more reliable organization than the Native Troops of the Line.

12. Neither General Cotton nor the Chief Commissioner can feel more strongly than I do the necessity of always hav-

ing a sufficient European Force in India to coerce the Native Army of every branch; but I consider that three European regiments in a healthy cantonment 50 miles from Peshawur with means of rapid movement would be a more real check on the Native Garrison than the same three regiments cantoned in Peshawur with half their numbers inefficient from disease.

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13. The saving of expense to the State and of the lives of the European soldiers will not be doubted. No one feels this so acutely perhaps as General Cotton, whose thoughts for four years have been indefatigably bent on measures for reducing the sickness and mortality here; but I hold that instead of obtaining half his wishes, the whole might, with safety, be secured. Instead of withdrawing 1,500 Europeans from the baneful influence of the valley, I would withdraw the whole 3,000.

14. The following is the permanent garrison for the Peshawur Valley which I would, myself, recommend: all Natives:—

HEAD-QUARTERS.

Peshawur.

1 Light Field Battery of Irregular Artillery (9-pounders).
3 Regiments of Irregular Infantry (Rifles).
1 Regiment of Irregular Cavalry.
2 Troops Mounted Police.

OUTPOSTS.

Nowshera.

1 Light Field Battery Irregulars (9-pounders).
2 Troops Mounted Police.
1 Regiment Irregular Infantry (Rifles), if possible Goorkhas.

Murdan in Yoosufzie.

The Guide Corps { 500 horse. 700 foot.

1 Mountain Train.

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Abozye, Shubkudder, Michnee, Barah and Mackeson (or Eymul Chubootra).

1 Regiment of Irregular Infantry (Rifles).
4 Troops of Mounted Police.

Charsudda in Hushtnuggur.

1 Troop Mounted Police.
Total about 7,850 men.

15. The above is framed from four years' experience of the wants and weakness of the valley, and with Attock held by a European Detachment, with a permanent bridge over the Indus, a European Brigade as a reserve in Chuch, and a Land Transport Train always kept efficient, I am convinced that Peshawur would thus be held with greater safety and less expense of money and life.

16. On the subject of Artillery, I feel great diffidence in expressing an opinion at variance with the conclusion arrived at by such a soldier as General Cotton, but setting aside the expense, which would be enormous, of manning the whole of this great arm with Europeans, I think European Artillery is not adapted to frontier work. Great campaigns are generally carried on at a season of the year favorable to European Troops, but on a strong mountain frontier, such as we are fortunate enough to possess from Peshawur to the sea, frequent quarrels with hill neighbours must be counted on at all seasons of the year; and Native artillerymen or Native soldiers of any other branch of the service are both more easily moved and supplied and better able to bear exposure. In the first instance, it will be remembered that Captain Brougham's Mountain Train was manned with Europeans, and that they were found so unsuited to the hill work that Natives were substituted. Indeed, a Mountain Train followed by all the supplies required for Europeans is altogether a misnomer.

17. Therefore, I would rather say in the reorganization of the Bengal Army, let two-thirds of the Artillery and one-

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third of all other branches be European, and let the frontier be worked by Natives of every arm and the Europeans held in reserve on the second line of defence, where in good health and full efficiency they would control the Native Troops on the frontier far more firmly than if always stationed on the spot and inefficient from the 15th September to the 15th January.

18. I beg to draw the Chief Commissioner's attention to General Cotton's opinion that the Cavalry duties at the forts would be more effectually done by Police sowars. In this I entirely concur, and it will be observed that the garrison I proposed contains only one regiment of Irregular Cavalry and nine troops of Mounted Police.

19. Independent of the superior efficiency of such troops over what is called (by another great misnomer) Irregular Cavalry, they enable us to avail ourselves of all the floating Military spirits of the border. One of the chief means by which this frontier has been kept so quiet during the trouble in Hindoostan has been the employment of every free lance and sword to overawe the Poorbeah soldiery. I have never known so much good feeling in the Peshawur District as during the late rebellion, and it is due almost entirely to the employment of small Chiefs and yeomen in a kind of service which suits them. There is no getting these men (in any numbers worth speaking of) to enlist in the so-called Irregular Cavalry, which is in reality a highly drilled and organized machinery. If all the District officers on the frontier were consulted, I feel confident that they would support my opinion that Mounted Police are twice as efficient as Irregular Cavalry for frontier purposes.

20. And if so, would it not be well, at this crisis, to make four of the five regiments of Punjab Cavalry* available for the interior of the Punjab, supplying their place with the Irregular Levies raised during this mutiny? This would be a considerable saving of expense.

*The 5th regiment would be wanted at Peshawur, according to my scheme.

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21. Concerning the wall round the cantonment of Peshawur, the late disasters in Hindoostan have forcibly exhibited the defective construction of our military stations, and shewn that they should be designed not merely for accommodation, but defence. Every cantonment should in future have its citadel, and that citadel should contain the magazine and be capable of defence by a small portion of the force. Expensive fortifications are not required. The merest breastwork is a protection against a Native enemy. In the particular case of Peshawur the lines of entrenchment can easily be drawn whenever the strength and character of the garrison is decided.

22. The suggestion of General Cotton that all European Infantry shall, in future, be armed with the Enfield rifle, and all Native Infantry with the common 2-grooved rifle, is excellent.

23. With reference to the remarks in paragraph 12 of your letter to Government, which seem to point to the advisability of withdrawing our boundary to the Indus, or at least to doubt whether the river or the mountain border would be the best, I cannot too strongly state my own conviction that Providence has led us by the course of conquest, which we did not seek or desire, to the true natural boundary of that Indian Empire which seems to be our destined charge. It is so admirable a frontier that I would deem a retirement from it to the Indus or an advance beyond it into Central Asia an equal misfortune. Of the three natural boundaries of conterminous countries, a range of mountains, a desert and a river, perhaps the range is the strongest, and the river the weakest, for defence. The Indus is no doubt a mighty river, but as a military obstacle it disappears before a fleet of ferry boats or rafts. In its broadest parts I have known cowherds swim their buffaloes across in the morning to graze on the opposite bank and swim them back again in the evening. If the Indus were our boundary and an enemy debouched from Afghanistan upon the champaign country between the hills and the river, I do not think that an army of 50,000 men on the left bank would prevent that enemy from crossing. Our present boundary, the range of mountains, is not

so easily violated. It forms a highly impracticable barrier. It is only to be penetrated by armies at a few well-known points, and on those points the defence may be concentrated. An enemy defiling out of the passes would be assailed to the greatest possible advantage. The mountain tribes are so independent that they may be called almost neutral. An enemy would have to buy any pass he attempted, and, if defeated afterwards, would be robbed and harassed on his retreat.

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24. It is quite true, as the Chief Commissioner has observed, that this frontier gives us trouble, constant trouble. But I submit that it is well worth the trouble, and that, if we retreated to the Indus, we should have worse evils in store for us. Whatever the annoyances of the frontier may be, we are well able to contend with them; we always overcome them; we get stronger and more respected every year. The officers and soldiers on the frontier alone are harassed. The Punjab and India rests secure behind it. For my own part, I think it would be a great blow to our Army, Regular and Irregular, if we were to give up such a nursery of recruits, and such a school for war, as the Trans-Indus Frontier. To it Her Majesty's Army is indebted for knowing the worth of General Cotton. To it we might have been indebted, had we chosen, for knowing the worth of General Hewitt. To it we had recourse for soldiers, the very moment we were in danger. From it we drew those hardy battalions which, side by side with our own countrymen, have recaptured Dehli, and are now reconquering Lucknow. From it, too, we summoned the flower of our commanders,—General Nicholson, whom it is impossible adequately to mourn or to replace, and General Chamberlain, to whom the task of defending the frontier has never been and never will be difficult.

25. I would only add to what General Cotton has said that if I were asked what public work in all India should be first begun after the conclusion of this war, I would say a bridge at Attock. It seems almost incredible that in eight years of vigorous administration everything else should have been accomplished in the Punjab, except this indispensable link in its military communications.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 230.

From Brigadier-General S. COTTON, Commanding Peshawur Division, to Lieutenant-Colonel H. B. EDWARDES, C. B., Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawur Division,—dated 30th October 1857.

Opinion of Brigadier-General S. Cotton in regard to military arrangements in the Peshâwar Valley.

IN acknowledgment of your letter No. 965 of October 19th, 1857, with its accompaniments as per margin, I have the honor to state that I almost entirely coincide in opinion with the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab as to the measures proposed by him for the cantonment of European Troops at Peshawur, Nowshera, Attock, Shumshabad (or elsewhere in the plain adjacent to the latter place) and at Rawulpindee.

No. 69 B. from Officiating Secretary to Chief Commissioner to Colonel Edwardes, C. B., Commissioner and Superintendent.

From Officiating Secretary to the Chief Commissioner to Secretary, Government of India, Foreign Department.

2. I would, however, venture to suggest some slight modifications of the Chief Commissioner's proposed measures as regards the number of European Infantry to be stationed in the cantonment of Peshawur and elsewhere, premising that my remarks are contingent on the consideration that good order has been first restored throughout the country, and that the present force of armed and disarmed Poorbeahs have been satisfactorily disposed of, as of course no reduction whatever of European or other reliable troops in the Peshawur District would be contemplated until it be relieved of its present embarrassments.

3. In reference to paragraph 6, and those subsequent to it, of the letter from the Officiating Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, under date the 14th instant (the previous paragraphs of which requiring at my hands no comment whatever unless I might presume to express myself as coinciding entirely with the views of the Local Government on the subject to which those paragraphs refer), I beg to state that I consider it most desirable to reduce to the utmost extent (consistent with the security of our tenure of the Peshawur Frontier) the amount of European Force in the Peshawur Valley, having, during a sad experience of upwards of four years,

witnessed the helpless condition from the effects of its malarious climate of all the European soldiers annually in the autumn months. It is scarcely necessary for me to dwell on that which I have too often reported, and which is so generally admitted, that the European Troops are invariably at that time of year almost, if not entirely, rendered powerless and incapable of exertion in the field.

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4. It would be impossible, in my humble opinion, judging from recent events, to withdraw altogether from the Peshawur District the European soldiery. I would therefore recommend that the force in the cantonment of Peshawur be reduced as a permanent arrangement to 2,000 of all arms and color, as before proposed by me in a previous despatch, and that the same be placed in an entrenched position enclosed in a work of a defensive nature. A section of the present cantonment containing the Artillery barracks and hospital, the kutcherries, the Residency, the temporary Church, &c., &c., might be conveniently walled in, at no very great expense; in this I would also enclose lines for a Native Cavalry and a Native Infantry Regiment, on the right of those of the present Artillery Division, in which latter I would place a 9-pounder Battery with 500 European Infantry, *viz.*, as the Peshawur Force—

1 9-℔. Horse Battery,
500 European Infantry,
800 Native Infantry,
500 Native Cavalry,

making a total of 2,000 men of all arms; and here I would very particularly urge on the consideration of Government that Artillery should hereafter be invariably manned by Europeans, and that never should that powerful arm be detached from European Troops. I will even go further and venture to express an opinion that it can never again be prudent to place in the hands of Native Troops (whatever their class or creed may be) valuable trusts such as the guardianship of an important frontier like that of Peshawur, or even to assemble them in any considerable numbers, uncontrolled by the presence of European Troops. The Punjabees, who have so faithfully served and so materially aided us in the recent crisis, cannot have fail-

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ed to observe how completely powerless we have been to restrain our Hindoostanee Troops at stations in which there were no Europeans; they would naturally turn to their own profit such experience, should large treasuries in their charge or other inducement draw them into disloyal courses; the consciousness of possessing such power would be, to them, in itself, a standing temptation.

There is ample space for a Sudder Bazaar suited to such a force, as I have named above, between the rear of the Officers' Lines and the Peach Gardens, to which the wall might extend.

In connection with this proposal, I must observe that I should consider it absolutely necessary that all buildings, both public and private, should be dismantled and the ground they occupy levelled; the material of Government buildings in such a case might readily be floated down the Cabul River to Attock and made available for new barracks on the Chuch plain. This opinion I give on considerations purely military. I am unable to say whether Government would feel itself obligated to compensate private persons for property thus demolished for public purposes. I most urgently, however, implore of the Government to lose no time or opportunity consistent with the safety of our possessions, with reference to our present incumbrances, to lessen the number of European Troops in the Peshawur District, and to disregard *in toto* the expenses which have been already incurred by Government in the erection of barracks in its most baneful climate. Temporary barracks may be erected upon the Chuch plain between the Hurroh and Indus, in time, even for the occupation of one European Regiment for 1858. I feel assured that, as a matter of economy as regards the lives and efficiency of our most costly and valuable troops (the European), no barracks in the present cantonment of Peshawur are worthy of one moment's consideration.

5. I would recommend that the force at Nowshera, as a reserve to that of Peshawur and guarding at the same time the Swat Frontier, consist of one complete regiment of European Infantry, one troop Horse Artillery, the Peshawur Light Horse as escort for Artillery and other responsible Cav-

alry duties, one regiment of Native Infantry, one regiment of Native Cavalry, the Mountain Train Battery, and one company of Sappers and Miners. The cantonment of Nowshera to be enclosed on the same principles as above suggested for that of Peshawur.

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Total strength in round numbers of all arms proposed for Nowshera, 3,000 men.

Little or no expense in public buildings in either cantonment, excepting that caused by constructing the defensive work as above proposed, would be incurred by the above arrangements, that is, provided the buildings now in progress at Nowshera under the orders of Government be completed.

I consider the climate of Nowshera, though impregnated with the malaria of the valley, to be somewhat more salubrious than that of Peshawur.

The barracks erected at Nowshera are perhaps the best constructed in the Division, and the Cabool River affords much comfort and recreation to the soldiery.

6. The present outposts of Michnee, Shubkudder and Abazie with the post of Barah and another at the new well at Eymul Chubootra, which is necessary to guard the mouth of the Kohat Pass (for I would dismantle as useless Fort Mackeson), would require one complete regiment of Native Infantry, besides the Guide Corps at Hotee Murdan; the Cavalry duties at the forts would be, I am of opinion, more effectively performed by Police sowars.

The total strength, then, of the force in the Peshawur and Eusafzye Districts would amount, under these arrangements, to somewhat under 7,000 men, thereby reducing the present ordinary force from 13,000 or 14,000 to that number.

7. I would recommend, as imperatively necessary, that all regiments of Infantry, both European and Native, be armed with Enfield and two grooved rifles respectively.

8. For Attock I would recommend, as at present, a permanent garrison of 300 European Infantry, together with a suitable proportion of Native Infantry and European Artillerymen, sufficient to man the guns now mounted there. I do not consider that the Fort of Attock beyond its actual requirements

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should be held by a European Force; it is insufferably hot in summer and being confined within walls will never be a comfortable or desirable quarter for such troops. In writing on the subject of Attock as connected with the passage of the River Indus, I would strongly recommend that immediately on each bank of the river sheds be erected capable of covering at least 200 men as shelter during the transit of troops in passing to and fro, until it be convenient to Government to bridge the River Indus at this point; and here I would earnestly implore of the Government to lose no time in causing a bridge to be thrown over the Indus, which is, of all other considerations connected with the subject to which this despatch refers, probably the most important.

9. As regards the measure of locating troops as near as possible to the left bank of the Indus, in the very salubrious climate of Shumshabad, Huttean or elsewhere in that vicinity, I am not at this moment exactly prepared to point out the most desirable site for a cantonment for European Troops. It has long been suggested and considered desirable that a large reserve of the Frontier Force of British India on the Peshawur side be placed somewhere on those plains. Shumshabad, it is true, has been hitherto found particularly healthy, but it is very low, so much so, as to be scarcely capable of drainage; and it is probable that a more desirable spot for troops may be found between the Hurroh and Indus Rivers. If the Government would not consider 18 or 20 miles too great a distance to move troops to the Indus on a sudden emergency, I would much prefer the high ground on the right bank of the Hurroh for a cantonment to any other locality. The water of the Hurroh running over a pebbly bottom is peculiarly excellent; besides the cantonment would be placed beyond the reach or influence of any malarious disadvantages. The Land Transport Train in the hottest weather could convey, at least, 400 Infantry during the night from the Hurroh to the Indus without fatigue or exposure to the troops; and as regards the relative distances of Shumshabad and the Hurroh, the greater distance of the latter would be amply compensated by its advantages over the former. I would

refrain, however, at present from giving a decided opinion as to the several localities which I have recently examined in company with two very able Engineer officers, Lieutenants Henderson and Taylor, on whose opinion and advice, with that of Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, Captain Cooper, I can safely rely. The report in full from myself in conjunction with those officers shall, on still further enquiry and examination, be transmitted for the information of Government at no very distant date.

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Be this cantonment established where it may in the neighbourhood proposed, I am quite satisfied that the most beneficial results may be anticipated, and that a force of 6,000 or 8,000 men might be cantoned and kept in the highest state of efficiency for service, which, together with the troops at Peshawur, Nowshera and Attock, would ensure the complete and entire security of our possessions on the Peshawur Frontier.

10. At Rawulpindee, as barracks are there already constructed, I would permanently have the same force as heretofore ; but during the present emergency and scarcity of barracks for Europeans I would, as the Chief Commissioner suggests, locate two regiments of European Infantry, as a temporary measure.

11. As regards the European Force to be maintained to the westward of the River Jhelum, I consider that 5 regiments of European Infantry are imperatively necessary as the permanent establishment, and I would, during the next ensuing year, place them as follows :—

At Rawulpindee	2 Regiments.
On the plain between the Hurroh and Indus in temporary barracks ...	1 Regiment.
At Attock	300 Men.
At Nowshera	1 Regiment.
At Peshawur the Head-quarter Wing of the Attock Regiment completed to	500 Effective men.

12. With these troops so situated, I would constantly relieve the Peshawur, Nowshera and Attock Forces. I would by

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means of the Land Transport Train (even in the hottest weather) relieve them as often as three or four times annually. I am thoroughly convinced that a long residence in the valley of Peshawur is permanently injurious to the health and constitution of European soldiers when once attacked by fever, and few indeed ever escape; they are always (if not removed) liable to fresh attacks, and after a time the organs become permanently affected, and the removal of an invalid, after a year or two in the valley, scarcely ever produces a complete recovery. Her Majesty's 22nd Regiment now in England is still suffering from Peshawur fever, although it was removed from the valley three years ago, but a short residence in the Peshawur Valley is certainly not productive of such serious consequences.

Proposed sanitarium at Cherát.

13. It may be still advisable, under all these arrangements, to bear in recollection the long talked of sanitarium of Cherat, within 28 miles of Peshawur and 14 miles of Nowshera. A climate is there to be found suited to the European constitution at an elevation of 4,800 feet above the sea. It is exceedingly salubrious, and being beyond the limits of the summer rains, which are so severely felt by invalids at Simlah, Murree and other hills, has peculiar advantages; it is fit only for a sanitarium for the families of officers and men and other invalids to the extent of three or four hundred; it is easy of access and the foot of the hill can be reached in the Land Transport Train or doolie in one night, so that no exposure whatever to the sun need be experienced.

14. The accompaniments to your letter are herewith returned.

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231. *From Lieutenant E. H. Paske, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. Edmonstone, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 81, dated 11th December 1857.*

Account of the northern part of Rohilkhand by a Hindu of Bijnour.

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner to submit, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, translation of a letter which the Commissioner of the Cis-Sutlej Division has lately received from a Hindoo of Bijnour in Rohilkhund, giving an account of the northern part of that Province. The information would appear to be trustworthy.

ENCLSOURE TO 231.

From BEHAREE LAL, *Nazir of the Collector's Office, Zilla Bijnour,— dated 30th November 1857.*

ON the 24th November I addressed you a petition describing the state of things in the district of Bijnour. Yesterday Choudhree Ram Suhae, who is a native of Bijnour proper, arrived here. It appears that the total strength of the rebel troops consists of between 6 and 7 thousand men, of which 5 thousand are at Nujeebabad, and about 100 or 125 men are stationed at the ferry of Daranugur Raolee. A portion consisting of about 1,000 men are with the rebel Maree Khan and another with Ahmudoollah Khan. Nawab Mohummud Muhmood Khan is at Nujeebabad, Maree Khan in the direction of Chandpoor, &c., and Ahmudoollah Khan towards the ferry of Chandee, &c. There are only about eight or nine guns with them. They have divided the duty of collecting the revenue in this way, that for the tehseels of Dhampoor, Nageena and Chandpur, the revenues are appropriated by Maree Khan and the son of Nawab Mohummud Muhmood, and Ahmudoollah Khan is in possession of the tehseels of Bijnour and Nujeebabad. But inasmuch as in consequence of misrule and the tyranny of the insurgents the people and landholders have been broken down, nothing has been realized from the generality of the villages. But the revenue has been forcibly collected from those villages of which the proprietary rights belonged to the sahookars and the gentry. Many of the Raeeses have come over from there. Choudhree Purtab Singh of Tajpoor has gone over to Meerut. In like manner other men of lesser note have also come over. At Bijnour and Nujeebabad no sahookar has remained in consequence of the oppression of the Nawab. All have quitted these places. Many of the Mahomedans of the higher class have also sent away their families to different places. And now that the rebels expect that their heads will be soon trampled upon by the hoofs of the horses of the brave soldiers of the Government, their livers have dissolved into water, and the generality of them seek safety in flight. But wherever they may go, they will meet with the punishment fit for their acts. By the grace of the Almighty, they must be an-

Account of the northern part of Rohilkhand by a Hindu of Bijnour.

nihilated. Maree Khan is a convict of the Government and a notorious bad character. His misdeeds have procured for him the fame of the Archfiend. This scoundrel also escaped at the time of the escape of the other convicts. By caste he is a weaver. Ahmudoollah Khan is the Nawab's sister's son, and during the time that Mr. Charles Gubbins was Collector of Bijnour, that officer appointed him Tehseeldar of Nujeebabad at the recommendation of the Nawab.

The troops of the Government are encamped at Meeranpoor and Roorkee and at Mooana opposite the ferry of Raolee and Chandee Ghat. It is hoped that the districts across the Ganges will be soon settled. The numerical strength of the rebels has been much diminished. They will certainly take to flight on the approach of the Government Troops. But wherever they will go they will meet with the punishment they merit for their crimes and misdeeds. Whatever may come to my knowledge hereafter will be duly communicated.

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232. *From G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 364, dated Fort William, 30th November 1857 (received 18th January 1858).*

Orders of Government on Despatch No. 76, dated 2nd November 1857.

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Officiating Secretary's despatch dated the 2nd instant, No. 76,* submitting a further report of occurrences in the Punjab.

*219 (page 207).

Change of destination of 1st Sikh Cavalry.

2. In reply, I am directed to acquaint you, with reference to paragraph 7, wherein you state that you have directed the 1st Sikh Cavalry to march for Delhi, that the Governor-General in Council considers that these men cannot be so much required at Delhi as with the troops in Oudh and in the Doab. A telegraphic message has therefore been sent to General Penny directing him, as soon as it arrives, to send on the regiment by forced marches to Cawnpoor, there to receive the orders of the Officer in Command or the Commander-in-Chief.

Raising of a second corps of Cavalry approved.

3. His Lordship in Council approves of your raising a second corps of Cavalry of the above description, and desires me to state that he is far from thinking that you have raised

more Punjabee Troops than were required. It is true that the number of Sikhs now introduced into our service is larger in proportion to that of other races than it will be expedient to maintain permanently; but this preponderance will be corrected hereafter, and meanwhile there is need, for a time, of every man who has hitherto been raised.

4. On this subject His Lordship in Council desires me to refer you to a despatch which you will receive in the Military Department for the amount of force which you should despatch to the North-Western Provinces and elsewhere. Strength of force to be despatched to the North-Western Provinces.

5. [*This paragraph relates to the trial of disloyal Chiefs and will be found in Chapter X, page 370.*]

6. Copies of paragraph 13 and of the correspondence regarding the furlough men referred to therein have been sent to the Military Department for information and orders.

7. With reference to the postscript of the letter under acknowledgment, I am directed to express the satisfaction of the Governor-General in Council with the intelligence communicated, and his commendation of the services of the officers engaged (especially Captain MacAndrew) in the punishment of the insurgents in the Googaira District. Commendation of services of officers engaged in the punishment of the rebels in the Gugera District.

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233. *From R. Simson, Esquire, Offg. Under-Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to Sir John Lawrence, K.C.B., Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 151, dated Fort William, 12th January 1858 (received 20th January 1858).*

In reply to your Officiating Secretary's letter dated the 10th ultimo, No. 79,* and its enclosures, I have the honor to acquaint you that the Governor-General in Council has perused with satisfaction the papers relative to the action at Narnoul with the Joudpoor mutineers and other rebels, and requests that the thanks of the Government be communicated to Lieutenant Pearse and the other officers engaged for their services on the occasion. Lieutenant Pearse and other officers commended for their services at Narnaul.

*229 (page 225).

Services of Captain Drummond and other officers aganist the Mehwattis acknowledged.

2. His Lordship in Council also requests that the acknowledgments of the Government may be communicated to Captain Drummond, and the officers mentioned in his report, for their services against the insurgent Mehwattees in the Gurgaon District.

3. [*This paragraph relates to the trial of the King of Delhi and will be found in Chapter X, page 371.*]

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234. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to Lieutenant G. G. PEARSE, Commanding 3rd Sikh Irregular Cavalry, Hansi, and Captain P. DRUMMOND, late 22nd Native Infantry,—Nos. 40-41, dated 26th January 1858.*

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner to forward, for your information, the annexed extracts from his letter No. 79* of the 11th ultimo and from the Government reply, No. 151† of the 12th instant. The Chief Commissioner feels great pleasure in being the medium of communicating the thanks of Government to you.

*229 (page 225).

†233.

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235. *From G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, K. C. B., Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 355, dated Fort William, 28th January 1858.*

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Officiating Secretary's letter No. 27,‡ dated the 14th July last, containing a narrative of the events in the Punjab.

‡117 (Part I, page 211).

Approval of measures adopted in connection with the mutiny at Siálkot.

2. The Governor-General in Council has been pleased to approve of the precautionary measures that were carried out, under your instructions, on the arrival at Lahore of the news of the mutiny at Sealkote, as described in paragraph 9 of the letter under reply.

Acknowledgment of services of Kashmir Auxiliary Troops.

3. With reference to your Officiating Secretary's last paragraph, I am directed to remark that the behaviour of the Auxiliary Troops furnished by the late Maharaja Golaub Singh for the purpose of aiding in the operations against Dehlee has

already been suitably noticed in the General Orders issued after the recapture of that place.

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236. *From G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, K. C. B., Chief Commissioner, Punjab,— No. 356, dated Fort William, 28th January 1858.*

Raising of Mounted and Foot Levies in the Punjab approved by Government.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your Officiating Secretary's despatch dated 16th October, No. 71,* forwarding returns of the new regiments and Horse and Foot Levies in the Punjab, and in reply to communicate as follows.

*210 (page 178).

2. Paragraphs 1, 2, 5, 6 and 7 have been communicated to the Military Department, with a copy of the returns.

3. Your proceedings in raising the Mounted and Foot Levies as reported in paragraphs 3 and 4 are approved by the Governor-General in Council.

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237. *From G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, K. C. B., Chief Commissioner, Punjab,— No. 358, dated Fort William, 28th January 1858.*

Question of confiscation of the territory of Nawab Ahmed Kuli Khan and others.

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Officiating Secretary's despatch dated 20th October last, No. 72,† and with reference to the 4th paragraph thereof, in which you report the arrest of Hakeem Abdool Huq, Nawab Ahmed Kuli Khan and others, I am directed by the Governor-General in Council to request that you will furnish reports on the manner in which each of these persons may be dealt with, and of his offences, in order that the Government may judge whether confiscation of territory should take place.

†213 (page 188).

Acknowledgment of the services of Colonel Greathed at Agra.

2. The result of Colonel Greathed's operations has been published and the service rendered has been suitably acknowledged in G. O. G. G. in Council, Military Department, No. 1627, dated 23rd December.

Orders regarding prize property.

3. The question discussed in paragraphs 6 and 7 of your despatch has been disposed of in the Military Department by G. O. G. G. in Council, No. 1499, dated 27th November last.

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238. *From G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 400 P., dated Fort William, 29th January 1858.*

Orders of Government of the 15th July 1857 regarding the retention of Peshâwar.

WITH reference to the postscript of your Officiating Secretary's letter No. 23* of the 25th June last, I am directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council to state that the message,† a copy of which is given in the margin, was sent to you by telegraph on the 15th July last. I am to add that the emergencies, which suggested the possibility of our retirement from Peshawur being found expedient, having passed away, any further expression of the opinion of Government on the subject does not now appear called for.

*95 (Part I, page 156).

†Telegram from Governor-General to Lord Elphinstone, Bombay, sent by way of Madras:—Forward the following message to Sir John Lawrence by quickest means:—"Hold on to Peshawur to the last. I write by Bombay."

NOTE.—The original of the message is not traceable in the Punjab records.

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239. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 87, dated 31st January 1858.*

SINCE the date of my last despatch little has occurred in the Punjab worthy of record.

Tour of Sir John Lawrence. Condition of the country.

2. The Chief Commissioner has since marched from Lahore to Multan, and thence across the Doab to the banks of the Sutledge opposite to Fazilka. From that point he crossed the Sutledge and proceeded *viâ* Mumdote to Ferozepoor. In this tour he has visited nearly all the main localities of the late insurrection. The country has now settled down, and the people have returned to their employment. Nearly all the leading

men in the late insurrection have surrendered and are being brought to trial. Most of those who were engaged in the murder of the late Lieutenant Neville of Her Majesty's 81st Regiment have been captured. Out of 51 individuals 6 were hanged at Pakputtun on the day the Chief Commissioner arrived; 9 have been sentenced to imprisonment for life; and the remainder for various periods from 7 to 14 years. Much plundered property has been recovered.

Punishment of the murderers of Lieutenant Neville, 81st Regiment.

3. At Fazilka the Chief Commissioner had much pleasure in seeing the improvements which have been effected by Mr. Oliver, the Assistant Superintendent. A few years ago this country was a mere waste. It has now many thriving villages; a good many wells have been sunk; and cultivation is rapidly extending. At Fazilka itself a new town is springing up, which promises to be the emporium for this part of the country. The landholders of the tract enabled Mr. Oliver to maintain his position at Fazilka when the rest of Bhutteeana was in insurrection; and by their aid that officer disarmed the detachments of the 57th Native Infantry and 4th Irregular Cavalry on duty at Fazilka on the men showing symptoms of *mutiny*.

Improvements effected at Fázilka by Mr. John Oliver.

Services of Mr. Oliver.

4. The improvement in the Mumdote territory since the Nawab was ousted has been rapid and remarkable. Nearly all the agriculturists who had deserted their lands have returned. The old villages now look prosperous, and new ones are rapidly springing up. During the late insurrection the people evinced an equally good spirit with those of Fazilka. They sent help to Mr. Oliver, and refused to listen to overtures which were made to them by the discontented of other parts.

Improvements in Mamdot.

Loyalty of the inhabitants.

5. As the Chief Commissioner marched through Mumdote the inhabitants of each village met him and expressed much satisfaction at the change of rule. On more than one occasion they evinced strong anxiety that the Nawab should not be allowed to return.

Anxiety of the people that the Nawab of Mamdot should not be reinstated.

6. The Chief Commissioner has in a separate report informed the Supreme Government what has been done to reinforce His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. The troops *en route* for Hindostan are moving down by forced marches.

Reinforcements for His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

Return of Guides from Delhi.

7. All is quiet along the border by the last reports. The Guide Corps had reached Rawulpindee from Delhy on its way to Peshawur. Near Rawulpindee the corps was met by the Band of Her Majesty's 24th Regiment, who played them into the cantonment.

Execution of the Chiefs of Jhajjar and Ballabgarh. Nawab of Farukhnagar condemned to death. Trial of the ex-King delayed.

8. In the Delhy territory the pacification of the country progresses. The Nawab of Jhujjur has been found guilty of rebellion and been hanged. The Raja of Bullubghur has shared the same fate, and by the last accounts the Nawab of Furucknuggur had been condemned to death. The ex-King has been seriously ill, which has delayed the enquiry into his conduct. There appears indeed to be much doubt if he will survive.

Punishment of a Gujar village near the Kutab.

9. A few days ago one of the Goojur villages, situated in the strong ground near the Kootub about 10 miles from Delhy, whose inhabitants still continued to evince a refractory spirit, were attacked by Messrs. Egerton and Metcalfe, the Magistrate and Joint Magistrate of Delhy, and by Lieutenant Daly with a portion of the organized Police. In this affair Mr. Egerton and two Sikh sowars, who had dismounted to follow a body of armed Goojurs through some broken ground, were set upon by a number of these men. Mr. Egerton and the two sowars however managed to kill ten of the party and to beat off the rest. In this struggle Mr. Egerton received two slight wounds. Upwards of 90 of the villagers were taken prisoners, and subsequently shot. This example will doubtless strike terror into this turbulent and predatory race.

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240. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General, Allahabad,—No. 5, dated 22nd February 1858.*

Tranquillity of the Punjab and Delhi territory.

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner to report that all continues tranquil and prosperous in the Punjab and Delhy territory. On the 4th instant the Chief Commissioner arrived

at Lodhianah, and on the following morning 21 Seikhs, mutineers of the 12th Bengal Native Infantry, were hanged. These men had been seized by the Nawab of Muleir Kotla, being residents of certain villages in that Chiefship. It is well known that the men of the 12th Native Infantry who were stationed at Jhansi and Jaloun were notorious for their villainous conduct. At Jhansi in particular they massacred their officers and their wives and children. From enquiry it was ascertained that the Seikh soldiers had taken a prominent part in the mutiny. Out of 25 therefore who were seized only 4 were sentenced to imprisonment, the rest being hanged.

Execution of 21 Sikhs, mutineers of the 12th Bengal Native Infantry, arrested in Máler Kotla.

2. Three and a half regiments of Punjab Infantry have passed or have reached Amballah for service in Rohilkhund. The 5th Punjab Infantry must now be at Merutt. The 17th and 22nd Punjab Infantry and a wing of the 1st Seikhs are at or near Amballah and will move at once across the Jumna to Roorkhi, so as to guard against and also to threaten the insurgents in Northern Rohilkhund. Captain Cureton's Cavalry accompany this force. This brigade will be ready to move into Rohilkhund whenever the Commander-in-Chief arranges for a movement from Merutt or Futtighur towards Bareilly. Major Coke of the 1st Punjab Infantry, an able and distinguished soldier, has been selected by His Excellency for the command. All the Punjab Infantry and Cavalry promised by the Chief Commissioner have now been supplied, except a wing of the 1st Seikhs. This detachment has been delayed at Dera Ghazee Khan waiting for the remainder of the 2nd Belooch Battalion from Sinde. In order however to avoid further delay, the place of the Seikh Wing has been taken by two companies of a Police Battalion, and this wing also has started by double marches to overtake the rest of the regiment. All the Punjab Cavalry destined for Hindostan, except Captain Cureton's Corps, have now left the Punjab, marching for such points as the Commander-in-Chief has directed.

Despatch of reinforcements for service in Rohilkhand, &c.

3. The Chief Commissioner has also commenced raising another regiment of Punjabee Cavalry by orders of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General. This corps will be composed,

Raising of another regiment of Cavalry.

as far as practicable, of Mahomedans, Seikhs and Rajpoots in equal proportions.

Movements of troops.

4. On the arrival of a wing of Her Majesty's 70th Fusiliers at Lahore, a wing of Her Majesty's 81st Foot marched for Peshawur, and the other will follow on the arrival of the remainder of the Fusiliers. Detachments of the 98th Foot are also expected daily at Multan, but the bad steam boats on the Indus render the passage very tedious.

Movements of Sir John Lawrence.

5. The Chief Commissioner was at Kurnal on the 18th, and expects to be at Delhy on the 25th.

CHAPTER VIII.

Orders regarding prize property—List of Crown jewels of the King of Delhi.

241. *Extract paragraphs 6 and 7 of a letter No. 72,* dated the 20th October 1857, from Lieutenant E. H. Paske, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. Edmonstone, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.*

*213 (page 188).

Application for a definite ruling regarding prize property at Delhi.

6. It would appear from the papers in the Appendix† that some definite rule as to what shall be considered prize property at Delhie is necessary. The Prize Agents claim the jewels of the ex-King, as well as all horses and arms, which may have been subsequently collected in the country. The Chief Commissioner has suggested that pending the orders of Government all such property be either kept in deposit or sold to the best advantage, and an account rendered to the Agents. It would also, the Chief Commissioner considers, be expedient if Government declared to what extent the property in the city of Delhie is to be considered the right of the captors. It would appear to him that it ought not to extend to any real property, whether inside or outside the city, nor to any personal property not actually captured by the army. As the ex-King and his jewels were actually seized by Lieutenant Hodson, the latter would probably come within the category of prize property.

†Enclosures (1) and (2).

7. The booty acquired in war is the property of Government and not of the army; and, though it is usual to make

such booty over to the captors, Government can clearly place a limitation on its extent. All moveable property which belonged to the mutineers, or to citizens of the town who joined in the insurrection, may fairly be declared prize property. But it seems very questionable if this claim should extend to the goods and chattels of peaceable citizens; of men who, it must be notorious, were in no way implicated, but on the contrary suffered severely in consequence of the outbreak. The Chief Commissioner considers that the property, for instance, of merchants, traders, bankers, artisans, and the like, unless they joined in the war, should not be considered as booty. Unless this be done, the whole of the inhabitants of *Delhie*, whether guilty or innocent, will be reduced to pauperism, and the trade of the country paralysed. In the analogous case of Multan private property was not, it is believed, so considered, nor in that of Bhurtpoor.

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 241.

Telegram from the Offg. Commissioner, Delhi, to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore.

Question whether horses and other property seized from rebels outside Delhi are prize property.

IT is 11 A. M., 16th October 1857. Are the Prize Agents entitled to claim horses and other valuable property taken from rebels by the Civil authorities at a distance from Delhi, or sent into Delhi by the neighbouring independent Chiefs? Ought not such property to be sold for the benefit of Government, and with regard to the horses ought they not, if fit for the service, be made over on a valuation to the Mounted Police, who have arrived from the Punjab?

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 241.

Telegram from the Chief Commissioner, Lahore, to Commissioner, Delhi,—dated Lahore, 17th October 1857.

Orders of Sir J. Lawrence.

I SHOULD think that the Prize Agents have no title to property which was not seized in Delhi. But if they insist, have

it all sold by public auction, and place the proceeds in deposit, pending a reference to Government. Horses required for the Police should be bought up by you, and made over to the men, who will gradually repay their price.

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242. *From Lieutenant E. H. Paske, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to C. Saunders, Esquire, Commissioner, Delhi,—dated 23rd October 1857.*

I am directed to annex extract paragraphs 6 and 7 of my letter No. 72,* dated 20th instant, to the Supreme Government, conveying the Chief Commissioner's views as to what description of property should or should not be considered as prize property, and to request that pending the orders of Government in any doubtful cases the property be placed under sequestration, but be not sold.

*241 (page 269).

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243. *From Lieut. E. H. Paske, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 75, dated Lahore, 30th October 1857.*

Correspondence with Major-General Penny, Commanding at Delhi, on the subject of prize property.

With reference to paragraphs 6 and 7 of my letter No. 72† of the 20th instant, I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to forward, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, copy of a further correspondence with Major-General Penny, Commanding at Delhie, on the subject of what should be considered prize property.

†241 (page 269).

Note.—For reply see 245 (page 277).

Enclosure (1) to 243.

From Major-General N. Penny, Commanding Delhi Field Force, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore,—dated Delhi, 25th October 1857.

I have the honor to transmit to you the accompanying papers which I request you will submit to the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab.

I solicit the opinion of Sir John Lawrence, K.C.B., on the subject, as I look on the system now pursued by the Prize

Agents to be opposed to justice; but having no claim to share myself in the prize money that may hereafter be conceded to the Army by the Crown, I feel that my objections may be altogether considered at variance to the interest of those who served before Delhi.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 243.

From Lieutenant-Colonel H. P. BURN, Military Governor of Delhie, to Major-General N. PENNY, C. B., Commanding Delhie Field Force,—dated Delhie, 18th October 1857.

Reference from the Military Governor of Delhi regarding prize property.

I HAVE the honor to report to you, for such orders as you may deem necessary, that several parties under European Commissioned officers have, during the last few days, been searching for plunder within the city.

2. Yesterday the servants of Lieutenant Bishop, Commanding the 3rd Troop, 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery, were taken up by my patrols laden with plundered property, such as rich native clothes, which they said they were taking out of Delhie by order of their master. On referring to Lieutenant Bishop, he says he was looking for prize property for the Prize Agents, and the men seized by my patrols accompanied him into the city and were allowed by him "to take some of the rubbish."

3. Another party, yesterday, entered a house which had been ransomed in the morning by the Prize Agents, or their Agents, Messrs. Murphy and Sirdar Bahadoor Khan, and commenced searching for buried treasure. The owner came to me to complain of want of faith on the part of the Prize Agents, and they certainly throw themselves open to such a charge if they authorize any one and everyone to search for prize money for them.

4. I have to apologize for troubling you to-day. Even the Sabbath brings no rest to either plunderers or plundered. A complaint has just been made to me that an officer and a number of Sikhs are in a house searching for treasure.

5. On sending my Provost Marshal down to see who the officer is, he gives his name as Lieutenant Stainforth, Adjutant, 4th Sikhs, and says he is acting under the orders of the Prize Agents.

Reference from the Military Governor of Delhi regarding prize property.

6. I would beg to suggest that the Prize Agents having now had one full month of plunder, they be confined within certain limits. This I believe to have been the practice on former occasions when towns have been taken by assault.

7. I would either put a stop to the collection of prize property altogether, or would restrict the search for plunder to the houses which are the property of rebels. The names of these parties can be learnt from the Officiating Commissioner.

8. I would now respect the houses of all who were not actively engaged in the rebellion. These men have a claim upon Government for the protection of their lives and property. In fact they paid for that protection. Government in consequence of this outbreak was unable to afford them its protection, and most of them have been plundered both by the rebels and ourselves. It is for such men that I would venture to solicit your interference.

ENCLOSURE (3) TO 243.

From Major-General N. PENNY, C. B., Commanding Delhi Field Froce, to Lieutenant-Colonel H. P. BURN, Military Governor of Delhi,—dated Delhi, 23rd October 1857.

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 18th instant.

Reply of Major-General Penny.

I feel much delicacy in giving any orders regarding the search for plunder now carried on by the Prize Agents within the city, having no personal share in the spoil.

I consider that all the houses of known rebels in the city should be justly subjected to search, and that the houses and

property of the friends of the Government, of which there can be but few, should be respected.

My conclusion may be wrong, but I shall, if you wish, be happy to refer the question for the opinion of Sir John Lawrence with your letter now under acknowledgment.

ENCLOSURE (4) TO 243.

From Lieutenant-Colonel H. P. BURN, Military Governor of Delhie, to Major-General N. PENNY, C.B., Commanding Field Force, Delhie,—dated Delhie, 24th October 1857.

Application of the Military Governor of Delhi for definite rules regarding the collection of prize money.

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date.

As it is very desirable that some defined rules should be laid down regarding the collection of prize money, I shall be very much obliged to you if you will refer the question for the opinion of Sir John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab.

From the first I have been anxious that some distinction should be made between the property of friends and foes. Up to the present time all are treated alike; even the property of our murdered countrymen and of those Englishmen who fled from Delhie on the 11th May last is brought to the hammer, and the proceeds carried to the credit of the Prize Fund.

In treating this question it appears to me that there are three different classes of persons all of whom might be differently dealt with—

First, our enemies, who are deserving of no consideration. Their houses will, I conclude, be confiscated by the Government and the property in them be dealt with as prize property.

Secondly, those who have passively supported the British Government, such as bankers, shroffs, merchants and tradespeople generally, who can prove that they took no active part in the rebellion.

Thirdly, those who have actively supported the Government either by service in the field or at the desk in the offices of the Covenanted and Uncovenanted servants of the State.

Application of the Military Governor of Delhi for definite rules regarding the collection of prize money.

The second class generally are willing to ransom their property in Delhie on the terms granted to the residents of the Neel-ka-Kuttra, *viz.*, by paying down a tithe of their estimated wealth. The third class will, I trust, be permitted to re-occupy their houses at once, and be protected against all further plunder. They have already suffered severely at the hands of the mutineers and by the destruction of their property since the British entered the city. The loss of property from plunder by our soldiers, or from its wanton destruction, is estimated at the large sum of two crores of rupees.

P.S.—If not asking too much, I would suggest that the question of what is prize and what is not prize be referred for the orders of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council. Our dak between this and Calcutta will be open as soon as Colonel Greathed reaches Cawnpoor, and an answer to the question might be received within a fortnight.

ENCLOSURE (5) TO 243.

From Lieut. E. H. Paske, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to Major-General N. Penny, Commanding Delhy Field Force,—dated 29th October 1857.

Views of Sir John Lawrence.

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 25th instant, with its enclosures, asking his opinion as to what should be considered prize property at Delhy.

2. In reply, I have been instructed to enclose extract* of my letter to the Supreme Government on this very subject, in which the Chief Commissioner has recorded his views and solicited the orders of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council.

*Paragraphs 6 and 7 of letter No. 72, dated 20th October 1857—241 (page 269).

3. Pending the receipt of these orders the Chief Commissioner suggests that you should oblige the Prize Agents to restrain themselves within such bounds as may appear to you just and reasonable. Unless you lay down some rule, nobody else can do so. Had the Chief Commissioner the authority he would not hesitate to interfere.

4. The Chief Commissioner agrees with Colonel Burn in thinking that the moveable property of all those who took part against us may be fairly considered as prize property, but that the property of bankers and others who took no active part in the rebellion ought not to be touched, and still less that of those who aided us.

5. The Chief Commissioner further considers that to enable the Military Governor to exercise an efficient control over the parties employed by the Prize Agents, it would be expedient that no parties be employed by them, in searching houses, without the consent of Colonel Burn, and that such parties should be furnished with a license by that officer. It would further appear to the Chief Commissioner proper that Colonel Burn's passes should protect the property of those persons to whom they are once allowed, subject of course to appeal to yourself.

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244. *Extract paragraph 6 of a letter No. 78,* dated the 30th November 1857, from Lieutenant E. H. Paske, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.*

*228 (page 221).

Proposed withdrawal of Prize Agents from the city of Delhi.

6. Among the annexures will be found copy of two telegrams, one to, the other from, General Penny regarding the withdrawal of the Prize Agents from the city of Delhy. The Chief Commissioner earnestly advocates this measure, and trusts that the Supreme Government will interpose and save the inhabitants from further spoliation. Thousands of them took no part against us. But all are involved in the general ruin.

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 244.

Telegram from Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, *Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to General* PENNY,—*dated 24th November 1857.*

HAVE any orders been received from Government regarding prize property? Don't you think that the time has arrived when the city of Delhy should be relieved from the Prize Agents? If so, I wish you would give the necessary orders, and if unwilling to do so, make a reference to the Supreme Government.

Proposed withdrawal of Prize Agents from Delhi.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 244.

Telegram from General N. PENNY, *Delhi, to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore,—dated Delhi, 25th November 1857.*

No orders have yet been received. I concur that the city of Delhi should be relieved from the Prize Agents. Their prolonged search by digging is continued to the danger of the houses, but having no share in the captured property I will refer the question.

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245. *From G. F.* EDMONSTONE, *Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to Sir* JOHN LAWRENCE, *K. C. B., Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 4835, dated Fort William, 3rd December 1857 (received 25th January 1858).*

Orders of Government regarding prize property at Delhi.

I AM directed by the Governor-General in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your Officiating Secretary's despatch dated the 30th October, No. 75,* forwarding a copy of a correspondence with the Military authorities at Delhi regarding what should be considered prize property, and in reply to refer you to the notification published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 28th ultimo and to the enclosed copy of a letter on the subject addressed to the General Officer Commanding at Delhi from the Military Department.

*243 (page 271).

2. The instructions given in these papers supply an answer to the question submitted in your previous letter of the 20th October, No. 72,* paragraphs 6 and 7.

*241 (page 269).

GENERAL ORDERS BY THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA IN COUNCIL.

Copy of the Notification by the Government of India, No. 1499 of 1857. [Fort William, 27th November 1857.]

Orders of Government regarding prize property at Delhi.

IT being understood that Prize Agents have been appointed at Delhi for the collection of booty captured by the British Troops from the mutineers and other persons in rebellion against the Government, it is hereby notified, for the information and guidance of all parties concerned, that a clear distinction exists, in cases of re-capture, between property of the State originally captured by an enemy in time of war, and similar property seized by rebels or mutineers during an insurrection.

In the former case, the property re-captured is in general properly treated as property of the hostile State, and becomes subject to the Laws of Prize.

But in an insurrection such as the present one, the troops of the State whose property has been pillaged by its own subjects or by foreigners aiding such subjects in their treason, when they re-take such property from the plunderers, merely re-take it on behalf of the Government, and acquire no legal right of prize or of property, although they have strong claims on the liberality of the Government.

These principles apply also to the property of private individuals plundered by the insurgents and re-taken by the troops of the State. Such private property can in no case be deemed lawful prize when clearly identified and claimed by the original owner.

Orders of Government regarding prize property at Delhi.

In accordance with these principles, the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council is pleased to direct that officers in command of bodies of troops employed in quelling the present insurrection shall appoint Committees of Officers for the purpose of taking an account of all treasure, and other public property, cattle, munitions of war, stores, &c., re-captured from the insurgents and mutineers, in order to the delivery of the property so recovered into the nearest treasury, or into the custody of the proper Civil or Military officers; and that copies of such accounts shall be transmitted to the Secretary in the Military Department for the information of Government.

Separate accounts will also be taken by the Committees of all private property captured or re-captured, and copies of these accounts will be transmitted to the Military Department, with statements of claims, if any, made by the owners.

In all cases of clear identification of property restitution may be made to the owners on the spot; provided that in the case of Natives they shall prove, to the satisfaction of the Committee, that they have not been guilty of any offence for which their property would be liable to forfeiture, and have, to the best of their ability, rendered active assistance to the British Government; and when claims are not clearly established, or the property belongs to any person deceased, the orders of Government are to be awaited before delivery.

The claims of the troops composing the Field Force by which Delhi has been nobly wrested from the hands of the mutineers and rebels, and by whose gallantry signal punishment has been inflicted on the insurgents there, are fully appreciated by the Governor-General in Council, and in recognition of their services His Lordship in Council is pleased to grant a donation of six months' batta to be forthwith distributed to all the troops engaged in the operations against Delhi.

R. J. H. BIRCH, Colonel,

Secretary to the Government of India
in the Military Department.

ENCLOSURE TO 245.

From Colonel R. J. H. BIRCH, Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Officer Commanding the Troops, Delhie,—No. 1203, dated Fort William, 23rd November 1857.

Enquiry whether prize money was promised to the troops at Delhi.

I AM desired to request that you will have the goodness to make an immediate report for the information of Government whether prize money was promised to the troops engaged in the late operations before Delhie by Major-General Wilson, C. B., or any other authority; and should prize money have been promised to the troops, you are requested to state what measures have been taken with regard to it.

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246. *From G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, K. C. B., Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 4879, dated Fort William, 7th December 1857.*

Definite orders regarding property found within the city of Delhi.

THE Governor-General in Council has again had under consideration your Officiating Secretary's despatches* Nos. 72 and 75 of the 20th and 30th October last, and, as the notification† in the *Calcutta Gazette* marginally noted, to which you were referred in my letter No. 4796‡ of the 3rd instant, does not meet all the points raised in the correspondence which accompanied those despatches, I am now directed to convey to you the following instructions regarding property found within the city of Delhi.

*241 and 243 (pages 269 and 271).

†No. 1499, dated 27th November, published in *Calcutta Gazette* of 28th November (page 278).

‡245 (page 277).

2. The property of those who are known to have acted in opposition to the British Government or against whom there may be reasonable grounds of suspicion may be seized and retained in the possession of Government. Instructions will hereafter be issued regarding its disposal.

3. The property of those who took no active part in the rebellion, or who aided us, must be left untouched in their possession.

4. The Military Governor of Delhi will be the sole judge on these two points. His Lordship in Council also considers it expedient that licenses and passes be granted by him as proposed in paragraph 5 of your Officiating Secretary's letter* to Brigadier Penny of the 29th October.

*Enclosure (5) to 243 (page 275).

247. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 845, dated Lahore, 21st December 1857.*

Prohibition by Major-General Penny of the further spoliation of private property in the city of Delhi.

I AM directed to report, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, that on the 12th instant the Chief Commissioner addressed General Penny, C. B., Commanding at Delhie, urging the expediency of the issue of an order prohibiting the further spoliation of private property in the city of Delhie. General Penny has complied with this request, and has issued an order, copy of which is herewith annexed.

2. The Chief Commissioner trusts that the Supreme Government will approve of his conduct in this matter. He has long heard from many sources that discipline has been much deteriorated by the facilities which the city has afforded for public and private plunder. All classes, whether friends or foes, were despoiled with equal impartiality; and even the property of our own countrymen, which had been recovered from the mutineers, has been declared and appropriated as prize.

ENCLOSURE TO 247.

Field Force Order dated 15th December 1857.

PENDING the receipt of instructions which have been solicited from Government, the Major-General directs that all further search for, or appropriation of, private property in the city of Delhi shall cease from this date.

The Military Governor of the city is requested to see this order fully enforced.

N. PENNY, MAJOR-GENERAL.

248. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to General N. PENNY, Commanding Delhie Field Force,—No. 1861, dated 29th December 1857.*

Orders regarding property found within the city of Delhi.

IN forwarding for your information copy of a letter No. 4879* of the 7th instant from the Secretary to Government in the Foreign Department to the address of the Chief Commissioner regarding property found within the walls of Delhie, I am directed to request that the instructions therein conveyed may be strictly adhered to. With reference to the latter part of the concluding paragraph of the Government letter, I am to refer you to my letter† of the 29th October last to your address.

*246 (page 280).

†Enclosure (5) to 243 (page 275).

249. *From Lieutenant E. H PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, C. S., Offg. Commissioner and Agent, Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces, Delhie,—No. 1862, dated 29th December 1857.*

IN forwarding for your information copy of a letter No. 4879‡ of the 7th instant from the Secretary to Government in the Foreign Department to the address of the Chief Commissioner regarding property found within the walls of Delhie, I am directed to request that the instructions therein conveyed may be strictly adhered to.

‡246 (page 280).

2. With reference to the concluding paragraph of the Government letter, I am to refer you to the letter of the 29th October last to the address of Major-General Penny, a copy of which you can procure from that officer, as I am unable to furnish it, the file being among the records with the Chief Commissioner in camp.

250. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to Colonel H. P. BURN, Military Governor of Delhie,—No. 1, dated 2nd January 1858.*

Orders regarding property found within the city of Delhi.

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner to forward, for your information and guidance, copies of the correspondence noted in the margin relative to the disposal of property found within the walls of Delhie, and with reference thereto I am to request that the orders of the Supreme Government may be strictly enforced.

To Major-General Penny dated 29th October 1857—Enclosure (5) to 243 (page 275).
From Secretary to Government of India, No. 4879, dated 7th ultimo—246 (page 280).

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251. *From R. SIMSON, Esquire, Offg. Under-Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to Sir J. LAWRENCE, K. C. B., Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 471, dated Fort William, 30th December 1857 (received 13th January 1858).*

Complaints regarding the spoliation of private property at Delhi, and orders of Government.

I AM directed by the Governor-General in Council to transmit, for your information, copies of the papers noted in the margin.

Letter to C. B. Saunders, Esquire, No. 469, dated 30th December, and enclosure.
Letter to C. B. Saunders, Esquire, No. 470, dated 30th December (not printed).

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 251.

From R. SIMSON, Esquire, Offg. Under-Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Offg. Commissioner, &c., Delhi,—No. 469, dated Fort William, 30th December 1857.

I AM directed to forward the accompanying extracts of letters received by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General on the 29th instant.

2. These letters were addressed to Sir Robert Hamilton, and one of them is written by Omeid Singh, a respectable native gentleman, formerly tutor to Maharaja Holkar. They represent, I am to observe, a state of things as existing in Delhi which, if correctly reported, is calculated to cast the heaviest reproach on the British name.

3. I am desired by the Governor-General in Council to request that you will immediately enquire into the allegations made in these extracts and report to Government whether they are just.

4. His Lordship in Council cannot believe that any such doings as are therein described can have been permitted to continue, even if there should have been foundation for them previous to the time at which the letters were written.

5. If, however, when this letter reaches you, you should be aware that innocent persons of any class are suffering oppression or hardship at the hands of the British authorities, Civil or Military, I am directed to request that you will do your utmost to put a stop to all such proceedings, and that you will call on the Military authorities to aid you in so doing.

6. It is presumed that you have received through the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, a copy of the instructions issued by Government in regard to prize property, and the operations of the Prize Agents at Delhi, and I am to request that you will state what measures have been taken to carry out these instructions.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 251.

Complaint of Omed Singh, formerly tutor to Maharaja Holkar.

RESPECTED SIR,—Your very kind note dated Calcutta, 23rd ultimo, has been duly received, and has wonderfully revived my drooping spirits. Although your return into Malwa has been so long delayed, the occasional receipt of such kind missives has kept us in hopes, and hope has kept life and body together, which was otherwise impossible under our unprecedented misfortunes. Your usual generosity has led you to enquire about my family and Ramsobai. Could I tell you all about them? Oh! Could I? My heart would burst. At Delhi they have made no distinction between friend and foe, innocent or guilty, and generally the former, the mercantile classes, the men of substance or those who were friends of order, because they had something to lose, have suffered the most. My own family has been punished more severely by the rebellion than the

King of Delhi himself! When the rebels first entered Delhi, about 300 sepoys attacked and plundered my house, because we were old servants and partizans of the English and could read their language. My nephew was caught, as every English reader was to be murdered, and only escaped by a bribe! Then Nund Kishore and Chonee Lal's son turned beggars, and sneaking out of the town went and resided with Churndasee Fakeers in the country. After the plunder of our houses, the family had saved their lives by a timely flight, but Ramsobai had remained to take care of the empty houses, or actually to try to save the property they may have concealed. He was caught, when the King's treasury ran short, along with many other men yet supposed to be wealthy, and tortured into paying 6,000 rupees more. He was then obliged to give the King a slip, and joining the family, who were already out, all went with mere skin and bones, without clothes or a single penny, to reside in a ruined village near the Koota Hills, where they knew a zemindar. Three men were left to watch the houses in the town. Then came the British, and the rebels fled. We thought our miseries will now be over, but no. All the inhabitants who escaped death by bombardment and otherwise were turned out without a penny worth of property. All the property was plundered. This scene is said to have lasted seven days, and many who could not leave their houses are said to have tasted cold steel! These were, however, not the "budmashes," for they had fled long ago. The gates of the city were shut, ingress and egress was by a ticket, and the digging of the best houses for hidden and buried property commenced. Three officers with a few beildars are said to have come to my once grand house, and having demolished it, are said to have carried I don't know what! Our property in cash, gold and jewels, silver vessels, shawls and furniture, alone was never less—it might be more—than two lacs. I have got a list of it all. My notes 1,20,000—I have got the numbers—my houses worth Rs. 50,000, and my money invested in the six Rewaree and three other villages was Rs. 60,000, all of which immense wealth is now gone! The labor of a whole life, the accumulation of many long years, of all of us, is thus knocked in the head, perhaps never to be

Complaint of Omed Singh, formerly tutor to Maharaja Holkar.

retrieved, and the bright visions of independence in the decline of age, which were so vividly formed and so fully described at your last farewell visit at my house, are, before you can return to Malwa, so entirely passed away! My children and Ramsobai, with about 40 members of the family and near relatives, were in great distress by the last accounts. The zemindar had given them the loan of some *barley and firewood;* they were living upon half rations, taking one meal only during 24 hours! and even this they said would run out if assistance could not reach from us within a month. That month is now over, and kossid only arrived three days ago. No money can be sent. There is no sowcar at Delhi to send a bill or a hoondee. *Money* must be sent them from Jypoor or Bhiwannee or Muthra, which will take another month, and I don't know what will become of them in the meanwhile, poor souls. God help them!

* * * * * *

With profound respect.

I am, &c., &c.,

INDORE: *The 17th November 1857.* } OMEID SINGH.

P. S.—Pray can you or Lord Elphinstone assist my distressed family by sending me a letter or a certificate at once to recommend protection to them. I am quite disconcerted.

ENCLOSURE (3) TO 251.

Complaint of Sunt Nana.

RESPECTED SIR,—I was very very happy to know you expected to leave Calcutta for Bombay, *en route* to Indore, on the 23rd. I hope you got my two letters I despatched to Calcutta. Though much better now, I am still very weak. I have just received a letter from my father of the 18th ultimo. It gives an insight into the miserable and wretched condition the inhabitants of Delhi have been put to. Unfortunately it seems to be the third letter my father wrote to us since his escape from the town, and the account therein contained is consequently broken and incomplete. A general plunder of the town seems to have

followed a general bombardment, and the news formerly received were that the whole townspeople were allowed one rough night to escape barely with life, and which we did not believe, seems to be quite confirmed. The letter refers to families scattered over the face of the country. Mothers separated from children, husbands from wives, and so on. My father himself, with some members of the family, was at Alwur when he wrote. My grandmother was stated to have gone to Umballah or Kurnal. I cannot say whether all of my family are safe. A servant left behind had reported to my father the complete plunder of our house, and the pulling down of buildings in the town had commenced. Of course few, whose owners could bring some recommendation, were saved. You will see that your absence from Indore has quite ruined my family. My father has asked for some letters to have the house saved from being knocked down, but I see not how to assist him from this place. Please do something, if possible, for the unfortunate sufferers. The atrocities committed by the Government Native Troops deserved, no doubt, a severe punishment, but no one ever thought that the capture of Delhi by Englishmen would be attended with more cruelty to the general population than that by a Nadir. Trusting this will find you in health, and hoping to be excused for any liberty that, in the agitated state of mind, I may have taken in penning the above. Complaint of Sunt Nana.

I beg to remain,
Respected Sir, &c.,
SUNT NANA.

MHOW:
The 2nd November 1857.

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252. *From G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, K.C.B., Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 265, dated Fort William, 20th January 1858.*

IN reply to your Officiating Secretary's letter dated the 21st ultimo, No. 845,* reporting that you have caused an order to be issued preventing the further spoliation of private property at Prevention of further spoliation of private property at Delhi.

*247 (page 281).

Delhi, I am directed to acquaint you that the instructions issued from this Department to the Officiating Commissioner of Delhi on the 30th idem, No. 469,* a copy of which was communicated to you in the letter to your address of the same date, No. 471,† respecting the spoliation of Omed Singh and Sunt Nana's property, will have satisfied you that the step which you have taken has the full approval of the Governor-General in Council.

*Enclosure (1) to 251 (page 283).

†251 (page 283).

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253. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to the Secretary to Government with the Governor-General,—No 77, dated 6th February 1858.*

Views of the Chief Commissioner regarding the disposal of confiscated property at Delhi.

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner to submit, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General, copy of a report from Lieutenant-Colonel Burn, the late Military Governor of Delhy, regarding the confiscated property at Delhy.

2. The Chief Commissioner suggests that where the property of persons entitled to its restoration has been sold, a fair compensation might be awarded and made good out of the general stock.

Suggested division of confiscated property among the troops which captured Delhi.

3. With respect to the final disposal of the proceeds of the confiscated property, the Chief Commissioner would venture to recommend that, as an act of special grace and favor, it be allowed to be divided among the troops which captured the town. No army by the labors, the perils, and the sufferings they underwent during the siege, ever probably better deserved this indulgence.

Contradiction of the statement that the Punjab Troops were promised the plunder of Delhi.

4. It has been affirmed in the public prints that the Chief Commissioner promised the Punjab Troops the plunder of Delhy. Such was not the case. There is no foundation whatever for this statement. On the other hand, there can be no doubt but that the hope and the desire of plunder stimulated and encouraged these troops to resist temptations which might

have influenced any mercenary troops, and to bear up against dangers and suffering which might have appalled the bravest soldiers.

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 253.

From Lieutenant-Colonel H. P. BURN, late Military Governor of Delhie, to Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—dated Delhie, 15th January 1858.

Report by Lieut.-Col. H. P. Burn, late Military Governor of Delhi, on the confiscated property at Delhi.

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 1 of the 2nd instant, with enclosure from the Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, regarding the disposal of the property found within the walls of Delhie.

2. Before its receipt I had been appointed by the Major-General Commanding the Delhie Field Force President of the Committee convened in accordance with G. O. G. G. of the 27th November last for the purpose of relieving the Prize Agents of their duties, and we had proceeded accordingly to make our arrangements for taking over from them the property they had still on hand, and all cash collected by them.

3. We found that almost everything of any value, with the exception of the ex-King's jewels and those of Begum Zeenut Mahul, had been disposed of by public auction, and that it was utterly impossible to recover what had been sold for restoration to the original owners as ordered by Government. We therefore came to the decision that no other course was open to us but the necessary one of confirming all sales, leaving it to the owners of recognized property to take from us the amount for which their property had sold. That this will not satisfy all claimants we are aware, but to have cancelled the sales would have caused such utter confusion that we did not dare to do so.

4. The claims to recognized property by persons having a right to its restoration will be few. It might, therefore, be

Report on confiscated property at Delhi.

arranged, with the sanction of Government, to cancel these sales only, and to compel the purchasers to give up their purchases, receiving back whatever sums they paid for them.

5. All further sales have been stopped for the present, and the Prize Agents have been allowed time to wind up their accounts. I have been relieved by Captain Sir Edward Campbell from the duties of President, and all future proceedings of the Committee will be conducted by him.

6. In as far as I could learn, no property belonging to Government has been credited in the books of the Prize Agents. All guns, ammunition, military stores of every description, and Government cattle recovered by the force were at once made over to the proper Departments, and it was intended to take from each a receipt for future adjustment.

7. Not more than fifteen lakhs of rupees have been, or will be, realized by the Prize Agents as shown in the accompanying memorandum.

8. The greater portion of this sum has been realized by sale of property taken from the houses of rebels; a very small amount will be restored to those "who took no active part in the rebellion or who aided us." It must, therefore, either remain with the Government or be divided amongst the captors.

9. From the above statement it will be seen that the Prize Agents have received but a very small portion of the plunder of Delhie. With the exception of one street, the Neelka-Kuttra, the whole city has been pillaged of everything above ground of the smallest value, and the hidden or buried wealth of the citizens has not escaped the rigid search which was made for it day and night by our soldiers and camp-followers. The people generally, but those of the street above named in particular, at a very early stage of our proceedings earnestly implored me to arrange for their being allowed to ransom their property. At a consultation of the principal officers in garrison, held soon after Major-General Penny assumed command

of the Field Force, it was agreed that I should negotiate for the ransom of the property in the Neel-ka-Kuttra, and this I did to the great delight of its inhabitants, for the sum of fifty thousand rupees. Other streets were subsequently admitted to ransom, but not until the property in them had been pillaged to a great extent. Report on confiscated property at Delhi.

10. I will not venture to say whether more stringent measures might not have prevented a great deal of the plundering that went on after we occupied Delhie. I did my utmost with the small force placed at my disposal to put it down. I flogged, or fined, every one of the hundreds of culprits brought before me without distinction, but I felt that I was treading on dangerous ground. Our troops generally, but those from the Punjab in particular, had been buoyed up with the hope of obtaining as their reward the plunder of Delhie, and I have no hesitation in saying that this was one of the main causes of their struggling on, as they did, against overwhelming odds, and in spite of exposure to heat and rain, at the inevitable cost of ruined health.

11. There is not the smallest doubt that the promise of prize money deterred many of our Europeans and Goorkhas from joining the ranks of the plunderers. But for this the plundering would have been universal. There would have been an end to discipline, and our success after entering the city would have been risked.

12. I have already stated that the bulk of the property collected by the Prize Agents belonged to rebels, every man of any consequence residing in Delhie having joined in the rebellion. It becomes, therefore, confiscated to the State, and must either remain the property of the Government or of the captors.

13. I confidently leave it to the Government of India to decide whether the army of Delhie is deserving of receiving it as prize, or whether it shall be paid into the coffers of the State.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 253.

Estimate of amount likely to be realized by the Prize Agents at Delhi.

Approximate estimate of the amount that is likely to be realized by the Prize Agents, Delhie Field Force.

	Rs.
By auction sales	5,00,000
By cash collected by the Prize Agents	3,19,000
By the ex-King's and Zeenut Mahul's jewels, unsold ...	1,00,000
By property in godown, unsold ...	10,000
By ransom money received for the protection of moveable property	4,25,000
Total ...	13,54,000

DELHIE : 15th January 1858.

H. P. BURN, LIEUT.-COL., *Late Military Governor, Delhie.*

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254. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to the Secretary to Government of India with the Governor-General,—No. 6, dated 27th February 1858.*

Question whether the Crown jewels of the ex-King of Delhi are to be considered prize property.

No. 42, dated 10th February 1858.
No. 51, dated 19th February 1858, and enclosures.

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner to submit copy of the letters marginally noted from the Officiating Commissioner of Delhie, and to solicit the orders of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General as to whether the Crown jewels of the ex-King of Delhie are to be considered prize property or not. Should this question be decided in the affirmative, the Chief Commissioner would wish also to be informed whether the jewels are to be made over to the Prize Agents.

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 254.

From C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, C. S., Offg Commissioner, Delhee, to Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 42, dated Delhee, 10th February 1858.

Question whether the Crown jewels of the ex-King of Delhi are to be considered prize property.

WITH reference to the late General Order No. 181* of the Governor-General dated the 29th of January 1858, published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 3rd of February, authorizing the reinstatement of the Prize Agents and correcting the misapprehension as to the claim of the Delhee Field Force to prize money having been ignored by the Government and a donation of six months' batta granted to them in lieu thereof, which misapprehension was caused by the promulgation of the previous order of Government, No. 1499, dated 27th November 1857, I have the honor to request that you will obtain the instructions of the Chief Commissioner as to the disposal of the Crown jewels of the ex-King of Delhee, which are at present in the custody of the Collector of Delhee and placed in the Government Treasury until the views of Government on the subject are made known.

*Printed at page 294.

2. Under the recent instructions of Government contained in the last published notification, I am fully of opinion that, in the event of Her Most Gracious Majesty granting as prize to the victors of Delhee the whole of the property captured in Delhee belonging to rebels and mutineers, as recommended by the Governor-General in Council to the Hon'ble Court of Directors, the hereditary Crown jewels of the King of Delhee will form a portion of the property to which the army may very justly consider themselves entitled, as there can be no doubt that among rebels and traitors to the Government the ex-King was himself the arch rebel and traitor.

3. These jewels were delivered to me in the presence of several officers by the Begum Zeenut Mahul from behind her purdah and in the presence of the ex-King in the month of October last, and have been kept under my seal until the views of Government in the matter are made known.

Question whether the Crown jewels of the ex-King of Delhi are to be considered prize property.

4. As those views, however, have now been ascertained, and there can be little doubt that the recommendation of Government with reference to the grant of prize money will be favorably attended to, I beg to solicit that I may be relieved from all further responsibility with regard to the custody of the Crown jewels and may obtain permission to transfer from the Collector of Delhee to the Prize Agents the charge of the said property, to be held by them in trust, either for the Government or for the army, according as it may please Her Majesty to grant or withhold the prize money.

5. Taking into consideration the precedents which were adopted both at Lahore and Lucknow on the annexation respectively of the Punjab and Oudh and consequent surrender of the hereditary Crown jewels appertaining to the sovereigns of those States, which were on both occasions taken charge of by the chief Civil authorities on the part of Government, I have not deemed it to be consistent with my duty to the Government as Officiating Agent to the Lieutenant-Governor and chief Civil Officer on the spot to transfer the Crown jewels of the ex-King of Delhee, and which were surrendered by him to me, to other hands until the receipt of express instructions from Government on the subject.

General Orders by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council,—No. 181, dated Fort William, 29th January 1858.

Interpretation of the orders of Government regarding the property to be considered prize.

A QUESTION having been raised by Major-General Sir A. Wilson, Bart., K.C.B., on behalf of the troops comprising the Field Force engaged in the operations before Delhi, whether it was the intention of the Governor-General in Council that the functions of the Prize Agents appointed by him should cease upon the issuing of the General Order No. 1499 of 1857 : it is hereby notified for general information that the above-mentioned General Order affects only public property belonging to the State, and property belonging to private individuals, who should establish their claim to restitution by clearly identifying the property as their own, and in the case of natives by

proving to the satisfaction of the Committee appointed under the provisions of the aforesaid General Order that they have not been guilty of any offence for which they would be liable to the forfeiture of their property, and that they have to the best of their ability rendered active assistance to the British Government. The order was not intended to affect property belonging to rebels or mutineers, or property belonging to individuals who either should neglect to claim it or who having claimed it should fail to make out their title to restitution in the manner prescribed. Such property will remain under the control of the Prize Agents until the orders of Her Most Gracious Majesty respecting it shall be made known.

Interpretation of the orders of Government regarding the property to be considered prize.

The Government has not the power to give up to the Army the property of private individuals of undoubted loyalty which may have been captured. But the Governor-General in Council avails himself of this opportunity to correct a misapprehension which exists that the donation of six months' batta (ordered to be forthwith distributed) to the troops engaged in the operations against Delhi was intended to be in lieu of all other claims; and His Lordship in Council informs the Army that he has expressed to the Hon'ble Court of Directors the opinion of the Government of India that all moveable property of the description ordinarily distributable as prize, belonging, or which may reasonably be presumed to belong, to rebels or mutineers, and which has been or shall be captured by the troops engaged in suppressing the rebellion, may be fairly treated as prize, and that he has recommended the Hon'ble Court to adopt the necessary measures for obtaining Her Majesty's sanction to the distribution of such property accordingly.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 254.

From C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Offg. Commissioner, Delhi, to Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 51, dated 19th February 1858.

List of Crown jewels of the ex-King of Delhi.

IN continuation of my letter No. 42, dated 10th instant, I have the honor to forward herewith a list of the Crown jewels of the ex-King of Delhi just received from the Magistrate of Delhi under cover of his letter No. 62, dated 16th instant.

List of Crown jewels of the ex-King of Delhi.

2. With reference to the above, I beg to state that the value of the Crown jewels, although appraised by one of the Delhi jewellers who was called in for the purpose, at the sum specified in the accompanying list, *viz.*, Rs 66,905, may more correctly be set down at a lac of rupees, as the jeweller admitted that he had placed a very low valuation upon them in consequence of the present depreciation of such property and the probable absence of purchasers.

3. In addition to the articles mentioned, the Prize Agents are in possession of the King's girdle, which may be valued at 7 or 800 rupees, and which forms a portion of the hereditary Crown jewels or ornaments.

ENCLOSURE (3) TO 254.

From PHILIP EGERTON, *Esquire, Magistrate, Delhi*, to C. B. SAUNDERS, *Esquire, Offg. Commissioner, Delhi,—No. 62, dated Delhi, 16th February 1858.*

IN compliance with the request contained in your letter No. 51, dated 16th instant, I have the honor to forward you a list of the ex-King's jewels with their approximate value.

ENCLOSURE (4) TO 254.

Crown jewels of the late Great Mogul.

No	Articles.	Valued at about
		Rs
1	A head ornament with centre stone emerald and side pieces ruby, surrounded with diamonds and one large pearl, and two ruby drops.	2,250
2	A tail piece with rows of pearls, emeralds, diamonds and rubies.	750
3	Necklace of pearls and emeralds with large star of diamonds ..	8,500
4	Necklace of pearls and rubies with emerald drops ...	3,000
5	Necklace of pearls and emeralds with emerald drops (engraved).	2,700

Crown jewels of the late Great Mogul—concluded.

List of Crown jewels of the ex-King of Delhi.

No.	Articles.	Valued at about
		Rs
6	Necklace of pearls and emeralds	2,100
7	Four bracelets of pearls with emerald buttons	3,500
8	A large diamond head piece with tail piece, and two side pieces on each side (one loose) with ruby and diamond centre stones, and six emerald drops.	6,000
9	Two emerald bracelets with 9 large stones in each ...	1,000
10	A head ornament with large centre ruby and side piece, tail piece and ruby drops.	400
11	Two large diamond arm pieces at Rs. 3,000 each	6,000
12	Pearl and emerald necklace with large ruby drops ...	4,000
13	Pearl necklace with diamond star and emerald drops ..	6,000
14	A turban ornamented with pearl and emerald pendant ..	5,000
15	A head ornament of emeralds with diamond centre stones and emerald and ruby drops and tail piece (*N. B.*—One small emerald broken off and in No. 25).	7,000
16	Two armlets of emeralds and diamonds	800
17	One armlet with large uncut ruby centre stone ...	1,000
18	" " smaller ruby	200
19	Two bracelets of 11 stones each	1,500
20	Two bracelets of emeralds (16 in each) and small pearls ...	2,000
21	One plume with pearls and large emeralds	450
22	" " pearls and small emeralds	200
23	" " pearls	50
24	Thirty-two rings	2,500
25	One small emerald (*vide* No. 15) and three little pearls ...	5
	Total ...	66,905

DELHI MAGISTRATE'S OFFICE : } PHILIP EGERTON,

The 16th February 1858. } *Magistrate.*

255. *From Colonel R. J. H. BIRCH, Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, with the Governor-General, to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 186, dated Allahabad, 20th March 1858.*

Decision that the Crown jewels are to be considered prize property.

WITH reference to your Officiating Secretary's letter No. 6—382* of the 27th ultimo, and its enclosures, relative to the Crown jewels of the ex-King of Delhi, I am directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General to inform you that the jewels are to be considered as prize, and, as such, should be made over to the Prize Agents, to await Her Majesty's decision on the subject of prize.

*254 (page 292).

CHAPTER IX.

Treatment of members of the ex-Royal family of Delhi—Imputations made against local officers of delay and leniency in dealing with offenders—Responsibility for guaranteeing the lives of the ex-King of Delhi, the Begam Zinat Mahal, Prince Jumma Bakht or Jawan Bakht, and other members of the family.

256. *From Major-General N. PENNY, Commanding Delhi Field Force, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—dated Delhi, 14th November 1857.*

Disposal of Jumma Bakht, a son of the ex-King of Delhi.

I HAVE the honor to request that you will solicit the opinion of Sir John Lawrence, K. C. B., Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, on the following point:—

The King of Delhi's youngest son and only child of "Zeenut Muhul," named "Jumma Bukht," is a young man about 17 years of age.

I think it would be but prudent and certainly politic to consider him a close prisoner with his father. It is contrary to all reason to suppose his feelings were not in common with those of his father and family during the late rebellion, and his being kept back from taking a prominent part in the transaction is only attributable to the deep designing character of the mother.

I therefore from what I have seen look on "Jumma Bukht" but little removed from a young viper, who hereafter, if at large, may prove a rallying-point for the disaffected.

257. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to Major-General N. PENNY, Commanding Delhie Field Force,—No. 759, dated Lahore, 17th November 1857.*

Disposal of Jumma Bakht, a son of the ex-King of Delhi.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th instant regarding Jumma Bukht, the son of the ex-King of Delhy, and in reply to inform you that pending the orders of the Supreme Government the Chief Commissioner considers that this youth should certainly be kept in close confinement, and the Officiating Commissioner of Delhy will be informed accordingly.

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258. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Commissioner, Delhy,—No. 760, dated 17th November 1857.*

I AM directed to annex, for your information and guidance, copy of the correspondence marginally noted regarding the disposal of Jumma Bukht, a son of the ex-King of Delhy.

From Major-General Penny, dated 14th November 1857,—256 (page 299).
To Major-General Penny, dated 17th November 1857,—257.

2. The Chief Commissioner considers that this youth should be kept in strict confinement with his father and mother, and not be allowed to go out under any pretext. After the criminal conduct of this family, it seems to the Chief Commissioner that no male member of it, who was present in Delhy at any time during the war, should be allowed to go free, or be treated with any indulgence, without the special sanction of Government.

Requisition for a list of the Chiefs and leading men in custody at Delhi.

3. The Chief Commissioner further requests that you will be good enough to furnish a list of all the Chiefs and leading men now in custody at Delhy. As a rule, all those against whom any specific crime connected with the present insurrection can be brought home should be brought to trial as soon as possible, and if found guilty be put to death. In the cases of the others, reports should be prepared and furnished for the orders of Government. None of these prisoners should be released without a reference and none should receive any indulgence inconsistent with close custody.

259. *From G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No 357, dated Fort William, 20th November 1857.*

Orders regarding the custody of the King of Delhi and trial of members of his family and other Chiefs in custody.

I AM directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council to transmit for your information copy of a letter* addressed to the Officiating Commissioner at Delhi directing that the King be placed in close custody, and all the members of his family and all the Chiefs in custody be brought to trial and dealt with according to law.

*No. 355, dated 20th November 1857.

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 259.

From G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Offg. Commissioner, Delhi,—No. 355, dated Fort William, 20th November 1857.

Recapitulation of orders regarding the treatment of the King of Delhi and the Royal family.

ON the 20th of June last the Commissioner at Benares was desired by telegraph to forward to the Lieutenant-Governor at Agra, by every means in his power, a message interdicting His Honor from making any promises to the King of Delhi and the Royal family, as well as from entering into any negotiations regarding them. The Lieutenant-Governor was at the same time directed to "do nothing more than keep the King, and such other members of his family as might be seized, in close confinement, and report to the Governor-General in Council for further orders." A copy of this message must have been forwarded by the Lieutenant-Governor to Mr. Greathed, the Commissioner at Delhi.

2. On the 9th of July a notification was published expressly declaring that no authority whatever, other than the Governor-General in Council, should exercise the power of pardoning any State stipendiary, or Native Chief who had joined, or in any way whatever assisted, mutineers or rebels, or any person belonging to the family of any such State stipendiary or Native Chief.

3. Again on the 20th of August, in the same spirit, a message was sent to the Lieutenant-Governor at Agra and the Commissioner of Delhi, through the Officer Commanding at Cawnpore and the Bombay Government, requiring, in respect of certain reported negotiations with the King while the operations against Delhi were in progress, that, before the Government should be committed to anything, a report of all the circumstances must be submitted to the Governor-General in Council.

4. Copies of all these orders are enclosed by way of precaution.

5. There can be little or no doubt that all these several instructions reached their destination. The spirit of all is identical. They all reserve to the Government of India the duty of declaring in what manner the King and the Royal family should be treated, and the injunction which that of the 20th of June conveyed, that those persons shall, if seized, be kept "in close confinement," is an indication of the spirit in which the Government of India intended to deal with them.

Allegations in the "Friend of India" regarding leniency shown to the King and members of the Delhi Royal family.

6. I have been desired to recapitulate the substance of these several instructions as preliminary to enquiry regarding an article which appeared in the "Friend of India" of yesterday's date, and which professes to be founded on "such information as produces absolute certainty." A printed copy of the article in question is enclosed, and I am to request that you will at once report, direct to this office, how far the statements which it contains are correct, and, if incorrect, in what the inaccuracies consist. You are expected to examine and report upon every particular assertion in detail, and not to satisfy yourself with a general reply to this enquiry.

7. If it be true, as stated, that "the youngest son of the King" * * "rides through Delhi on an elephant with two British officers to do him honor," and "that the King has a retinue to attend him" and is permitted to "insult British officers who visit him," I am desired to convey to you the peremptory injunction of the Governor-General in Council that such misplaced and inappropriate indulgences be at once

withdrawn; that the King and others of the Royal family who are in your hands be committed to "close confinement"; that, whilst all unnecessary severity must be avoided, no honor whatever be shown to them; and that all the members of the family saving the King, and all the Chiefs in custody be at once brought to trial and dealt with according to law.

Orders of Government regarding the treatment of the King of Delhi.

8. Copies of this letter will be sent to the Chief Commissioners at Agra and Lahore.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 259.

Telegram from G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, to H. TUCKER, Esquire,—dated 20th June 1857.

THE Governor-General desires that, on the fall of Delhi, the Lieutenant-Governor should neither make any promises to the King and the Royal family, nor enter into any engagements regarding them. The Lieutenant-Governor is requested to do nothing more than keep the King and such other members of his family as may be seized in close confinement, and report to the Governor-General for further orders.

ENCLOSURE (3) TO 259.

Telegram from G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, to Lieutenant-Governor, Agra, and Commissioner at Delhi,—dated 20th August 1857.

RUMOURS have more than once reached this Government that overtures have been made by the King at Delhi to the Officers Commanding the Troops there, and that these overtures may possibly be renewed upon the basis of the restoration of the King to the position which he held before the mutiny at Meerut and Delhi. The Governor-General wishes it to be understood that any concession to the King, of which the King's restoration to his former position should be the basis, is one to which the Government, as at present advised, cannot for a moment give its consent.

Should any negotiations of the sort be contemplated, a full report of all the circumstances must be submitted to the Governor-General in Council before the Government is committed to anything.

NOTE.—This telegram has appeared as the enclosure to 176, page 21. It is reprinted for facility of reference.

ENCLOSURE (4) TO 259.

Extract from "Friend of India."

Allegations in the "Friend of India" of the lenient treatment of the King and members of the Delhi Royal family.

Delhi.—We would call the attention of the Government of India to the state of things existing in the city of Delhi. It demands instant and stern reform. We are certain that the freaks there committed have no sanction from the Governor-General, and if the message costs ten thousand pounds in bribes, written orders should be transmitted peremptorily forbidding them. The youngest son of the King, 18 years of age, has been declared innocent on account of his youth, and rides through Delhi on an elephant with two British officers behind him to do him honor! The statement appears so incredible that it may be set aside as a mere newspaper report. We entreat Government to believe that it is one which we would not publish without such information as produces absolute certainty. The King, also, it is said—but for this we have only the authority of the "Lahore Chronicle"—has a retinue to attend him, and coolly insults British officers who visit him. *It is things such as these, the honors paid to our murderers, which exasperates Europeans to frenzy. They are not ordered or sanctioned by this Government, but they should be stopped by court martials, if necessary.*

Furthermore, in the middle of October there were the following leaders in custody unharmed:—

Hakeem Abdool Huq, a rebel Chief of the Goorgaon District, who joined the mutineers.

Hoossein Khan, a Persian, who commanded a regiment at Delhi.

Nawab Ahmad Kooli Khan, the father-in-law of the King, who went out to meet the Bareilly Brigade and escorted them into the city.

The Nawab of Jhujjur, Nawab Ameen-ood-deen Khan, accused of assisting in the murder of Mr. Fraser.

Nothing has been done to any of these men. It is impossible or at least most difficult to refer to the Supreme Government. It is useless to refer to Lahore, for Sir John Lawrence

has no authority in the North-West. The officers in Delhi therefore dread the responsibility, and crime waits for the punishment it deserves. It must be possible to convey a letter to Delhi, if a sufficient bribe is paid to the cossid, and peremptory orders should be transmitted at once.

It is stated that Lieutenant Hodson had no option in the matter of the King of Delhi. General Penny is still acting under instructions left by Mr. Colvin, and which have not yet been superseded. We can only say, if such be the case, the sooner a special officer is ordered from Lahore to Delhi with power to do anything save pardon, the better for our interests in the North-West.

We repeat we have stated only facts, and await with confidence upon this point the action of the Governor-General.

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260. *From Major-General A. Wilson to Sir John Lawrence, Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—dated Deyrah, 24th November 1857.*

Guaranteeing of the lives of the King and other members of the Royal family.

In reply to yours of the 21st instant,* I have the pleasure to inform you that I received a message from the Secretary to Government, Foreign Department, requesting me to report the conditions on which the King's life had been spared, to which I replied on the 24th ultimo that I had at the recommendation of Mr. Greathed previous to the assault, when he had some expectation of the King volunteering to come into our camp, agreed to guarantee to him his life. I allowed Mr. Saunders to offer the same guarantee after the city fell into our hands, on condition the King gave himself up unreservedly. The guarantee thus given extended solely to life being spared, and that he was to be disposed of at the discretion of Government.

No guarantee of any kind was authorized to be given to his son Juma Bukt or to any other of the Royal family, the Begums of course excepted, and Lieutenant Hodson had no authority from me to guarantee the lives of Ahmed Kuli Khan, Hamid Ali Khan, or any others.

*Not traceable in the Punjab records.

261. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Commissioner, Delhy,—No. 793, dated 3rd December 1857.*

Enquiry as to the authority under which Lieutenant Hodson guaranteed the lives of the King of Delhi and other members of the Royal family.

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner to annex copy of a demi-official letter from General Wilson, and to request that you will call on Lieutenant Hodson, through Major-General Penny, Commanding the Troops at Delhy, to state under what circumstances and on what authority he guaranteed the lives of the King of Delhy, of his son Juma Bukt, as well as of Ahmed Kuli Khan, Hamid Ali Khan, or any other individuals. Lieutenant Hodson should be further required to state the authority on which he gave protection to the property of any of these persons, or indeed of anybody connected with the present insurrection.

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262. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 82, dated Lahore, 12th December 1857.*

Explanation of Mr. C. B. Saunders with reference to strictures in the "Friend of India."

I AM directed to submit to the Supreme Government duplicate copies of a despatch from the Officiating Commissioner of Delhie, with its enclosures, explaining his conduct with reference to certain strictures in the "Friend of India" of the 19th ultimo.

Correction of misstatements regarding the mode in which the prosecution of offenders has been conducted.

2. The Chief Commissioner believes that the public have been altogether misinformed as regards the mode in which the prosecution of offenders has been conducted at Delhie. He is not aware of one single instance, except those in which Lieutenant Hodson gave guarantees, where offenders have been allowed to escape punishment. That officer appears to have been vested with very considerable power by Generals Anson and Barnard, or at any rate to have exercised such power; and Mr. C. Saunders was in consequence placed in very peculiar and difficult circumstances on first assuming charge of his office.

3. Some delay doubtless has taken place in disposing of particular cases. But it should be borne in mind that after the fall of Delhie affairs were in great confusion. The troops were exhausted and to a considerable extent disorganized and even demoralized by the labors, fatigue and suffering of the past four months, and the temptation which the capture of so large and rich a city as Delhie afforded. The Chiefs in the vicinity of Delhie, who had aided in the insurrection, were all in possession of power and of their territories. Their country became the asylum of the fugitives who were natives of Delhie and its territory. It was necessary after the despatch of the column which followed a portion of the mutineers to organize a force to act against the surrounding Chiefs. All this was done. One after the other they were all seized, their lands occupied, and their followers dispersed or destroyed. The Joudhpoor Legion was encountered and defeated and the insurgents south of Delhie punished and put down. These results were all very satisfactory. But some time was necessary before many of the leading characters could be brought to trial. Evidence had to be sought for. Papers had to be examined, compared and translated.

Guarantees given by Lieutenant Hodson to the King and other members of the Royal family.

4. In respect to the different guarantees given by Lieutenant Hodson it appears to the Chief Commissioner from the document marginally quoted, copy of which is herewith forwarded, that this officer must certainly have exceeded his authority. General Wilson does not state that he gave Lieutenant Hodson himself power to guarantee His Majesty's life. That authority would appear to have been only vested in Mr. C. Saunders himself, and in no case extended to any other individual. It is not clear therefore on what grounds Lieutenant Hodson states that he acted under General Wilson's sanction. It is clear, however, that had Lieutenant Hodson asked for authority to act, it would not have been withheld.

Demi-official letter from General Wilson to Sir John Lawrence, K. C. B., dated 24th November 1857,—260 (page 305).

Question whether Lieutenant Hodson exceeded his authority.

5. As regards the guarantees themselves, however great may be the evil of granting the King's life, it must be quite

insignificant compared with those which would have arisen had he effected his escape. Every Englishman must have desired to see him brought to justice; few would, however, have hesitated in consenting to give him his life, if otherwise he might have escaped. It is difficult for any one not on the spot to judge satisfactorily whether the King might have been arrested or not, in the event of the guarantee being withheld.

6. If it were necessary to grant the King his life in order to secure his person, it would appear to have been equally necessary to have extended the pledge to his wife and son. The woman's sex however would have rendered her safe; and nothing appears to be forthcoming against Mirza Jawan Bukht.

In respect to the guarantees to Hamid Alli Khan and others, the explanation of Lieutenant Hodson when received shall be furnished.

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 262.

From C. B. SAUNDERS, *Esquire, Offg. Commissioner and Agent, Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces, Delhi, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 67, dated Palace Delhi, 5th December 1857.*

Reply of Mr. C. B. Saunders to the allegations in the "Friend of India" regarding the lenient treatment of the King and other members of the Royal family.

I HAVE the honor to forward, for the information of the Chief Commissioner, a copy of my letter No. 1, dated 2nd instant, to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, forwarding as directed in his letter No. 355,* dated 20th ultimo, to my address, a copy of which I enclose, a reply to certain allegations contained in a paragraph of the "Friend of India" of the 19th November relative to the treatment of the King of Delhi and his family and other particulars.

*Enclosure (1) to 259 (page 301).

I have to request that a copy of my letter and its enclosures may be forwarded to the Supreme Government *viâ* Bombay or otherwise, as it is not improbable that in the present unsettled state of the country the original copy may not reach its destination.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 262.

From C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Offg. Commissioner and Agent to the Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces, Delhi, to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foregin Department, Fort William,—No. 1, dated Palace, Delhi, 2nd December 1857.

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter No. 355,* dated the 20th of November 1857, just received, in which, after recapitulating the substance of the several instructions of the Governor-General in Council forwarded for the guidance of the local authorities at Delhi, you call upon me to examine and report in detail upon every assertion contained in an article which appeared in the "Friend of India" of the 19th November, a copy of which you have forwarded for my perusal, and direct me not to satisfy myself with a general reply to the enquiry.

*Enclosure (1) to 259 (page 301).

Position of Mr. Saunders at Delhi and his duties.

2. Before proceeding to notice the several points to which my attention has thus been drawn, I deem it right to state the circumstances under which I was called upon to assume my present responsible duties and also to give a general outline of the circumstances attending the arrest of the King of Delhi.

3. The late Mr. Hervey Greathed was throughout the whole of the siege operations, as Agent to the Lieutenant-Governor, the chief Civil and Political authority with the Army before Delhi. In the early part of July I was summoned to the camp at Sir John Lawrence's suggestion and appointed Principal Assistant to the Lieutenant-Governor's Agent; as such my functions were limited to the charge of the Paniput and Delhi Districts with the exception of the Kurnaul Pergunnah in the former, which was placed under Mr. LeBas, and those portions of the latter district which were in the hands of the mutineers and owned the King of Delhi as their ruler. I

Position of Mr. Saunders at Delhi and his duties.

had also charge of the Grand Trunk Road from Kurnaul to the camp, and was to a certain extent responsible for keeping open our communications with the rear and forwarding on to the camp convoys of supplies and ordnance stores, and with this view resided sometimes in camp, but chiefly at Larsowlee, where our telegraphic communication with the Punjab terminated.

4. I had nothing whatever to do with either the Intelligence Department or with any political negotiations which may have been carried on by my predecessor. Although treated by him with every kindness and consideration, I was not admitted to his councils, nor was I made acquainted with the views of the Supreme Government or of the Government of the North-Western Provinces on matters of State policy, or with any instructions which he may have received from time to time, with the exception that I heard him say on the 18th of September, the day before his death, that the late Mr. Colvin had given him authority to promise the King his life.

5. The city of Delhi was assaulted on the 14th of September. Mr. Greathed was present throughout that day's operations, but continued to sleep in camp at the cantonments, coming down every day till the day of his death to head-quarters at Skinner's house, where I was residing. On the evening of that day, the 19th, he wrote and told me that he was far from well and unable to come down to the city, and begged me to let him know how matters were going on. I rode up to cantonments to see him and found that he had been seized with cholera and that the hand of death was on him. He begged me to assume charge of his duties in case of his death as the senior Civil officer with the force. In answer to my enquiries as to whether he had any special instructions to give me with reference to the policy which was to be pursued in the event of the city falling entirely into our hands, he stated that he had authority if necessary to guarantee the King his life, but nothing more, and he moreover said that his own views were against anything like indiscriminate slaughter. He considered

Instructions given to Mr. C. B. Saunders by Mr. H. Greathed before his death.

that punishment should be severe but just. I remained with him until his end, which occurred near midnight.

6. On the next day, the 20th, Delhi was entirely evacuated by the mutineers, and we took possession of the palace and the whole remaining fortifications of the city, which was deserted by almost every living being. In the afternoon I proceeded to cantonments to attend the funeral of Mr. Greathed. During my absence Captain Hodson proceeded to General Wilson, who had removed his head-quarters to the Dewan Khas in the palace, and obtained from him permission to guarantee the King his life through Mirza Ilahee Buksh, one of the distant members of the Royal family, who had before been in correspondence with him on the subject, on the condition he would come in and surrender himself a prisoner.

Permission obtained by Captain Hodson from General Wilson to guarantee the King his life.

7. I enclose copies of the correspondence as per margin, which will explain the circumstances under which the guarantee was given and the person of the King secured. As I look upon this enquiry as to a certain extent a personal one, I deem it due to myself to state that from the accidental circumstance of my being absent I was not consulted in the matter, and that I do not feel myself in any way responsible for the offer of the guarantee. I knew nothing of it until after the General had given his instructions in the matter to Captain Hodson. I mention this thus prominently as I know that the different newspaper paragraphs which have from time to time appeared on the subject have all more or less been penned under the impression that the King's life was spared through the intervention of the Civil authorities. I do not enter into the question of whether it was wise or unwise, expedient or inexpedient, to give the guarantee, or whether it was probable the King would have fallen into our hands if his life had been conceded to him or not. The best judges on such a question are not the public before whom I have been arraigned, but those who were on the spot at the time, and especially the Military authorities who could alone properly estimate the difficulties which they had on

No. 2, dated 30th October 1857, from myself to Captain W. S. R. Hodson, Assistant Quartermaster-General, and No 3, dated 28th November, from Captain Hodson in reply to the above.

Correspondence between Mr. Saunders and Captain Hodson as to the circumstances under which the guarantee was given.

Mr. Saunders disclaims responsibility for the guarantee.

all hands to contend with, during and after the six eventful days which resulted in the capture of the city of Delhi, and have secured British supremacy in India.

Non-receipt of the orders of Government dated the 20th June 1857 regarding the treatment of the King of Delhi.

8. It may be considered that the granting to the King a guarantee of his life was in direct opposition to the instructions of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General contained in your telegraph message to Mr. Tucker of the 20th June. In reply I would beg to state that, until the receipt of a duplicate copy of instructions from Agra in the month of October, neither I nor any other person I believe in the camp was aware that such an order had been issued. I have not been able to trace the existence of any document amongst *Mr. Greathed's* papers that might lead one to suppose that he had even received instructions to the above effect ; on the contrary the tenor of his remarks to me on the day of his death were such as to convince me that the telegraph message given in the margin never reached its destination, and that he thoroughly believed he still possessed authority to hold out to the King an offer of his life as an inducement for him to surrender himself under the general instructions furnished to him by the late Mr. Colvin, upon his proceeding to join the Army before Delhi as Agent to the Lieutenant-Governor, and communicated in the letter No. dated 3rd June, from the Secretary to the Government, North-Western Provinces, to his address. These instructions concluded with the following words : "The old King himself will be treated with respect and will have a reasonable but moderate maintenance for life."

From G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, to H. TUCKER, Esquire,—dated 20th June 1857.

The Governor-General desires that on the fall of Delhi the Lieutenant-Governor should neither make any promises to the King and Royal family nor enter into any engagements regarding them. The Lieutenant-Governor is requested to do nothing more than keep the King, and such other members of his family as may be seized, in close confinement, and report to Governor-General for further orders.

Instructions issued by the Government, North-Western Provinces, to Mr. Greathed,

and communicated to Mr. Saunders.

9. A copy of the above instructions were forwarded to me from Agra for my guidance upon my assuming charge of the office, and no intimation was given to me that those instructions had been abrogated by the order of the Governor-General communicated in the above telegraph message of the 20th June.

10. Had I been aware of the existence of the above orders of the Governor-General, I should certainly have considered it my duty to have brought them prominently to the notice of General Wilson and have urged him not to have infringed them even had the probable result of my doing so been the flight of the King and all the members of the Royal family with the retreating columns of the mutineers, by whom it must be borne in mind that they were still harboured and protected.

Course which Mr. Saunders would have adopted if he had received the orders of 20th June 1857.

11. Not having, however, been in receipt of the above orders of the 20th June, I would beg most respectfully to urge that the subsequent instructions of the 20th of August as given in the margin, a copy of which reached me almost simultaneously with the taking of Delhi, did not, irrespectively of any previous orders of which they might have been considered a sequel or rider, in any way lead to the inference that no overtures from the King of Delhi were to be entertained or terms made with him; on the contrary I would beg with all due deference to submit that these very instructions would lead by implication to the inference that any reasonable concession to the King of which the King's restoration to his former position should *not* be the basis, was one to which the Government could and would give its consent. Hence, therefore, the guarantee of his life to the King, who, it must be remembered, is a man in the wane of life, being nearly 90 years of age, was a concession which it might reasonably be considered that the Governor-General in Council would both ratify and approve of. In all fairness of criticism, it should be borne in mind that at the time terms embracing the guarantee of his life were offered the King was not in our power, and

Contention of Mr. Saunders that the orders of 20th August 1857 were not infringed.

From G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, to Lieutenant-Governor, Agra, and Commissioner at Delhi,—dated 20th August 1857.

Rumours have more than once reached this Government that overtures have been made by the King to the Officer Commanding the Troops there, and that these overtures may possibly be renewed upon the basis of the restoration of the King to the position which he held before the mutiny at Meerut and Delhi. The Governor-General wishes it to be understood that any concession to the King, of which the King's restoration to his former position should be the basis, is one to which the Government, as at present advised, cannot for a moment give its consent.

Should any negotiation of the sort be contemplated, a full report of all the circumstances must be submitted to the Governor-General in Council before the Government is committed to anything.

that sparing his life was a less evil than allowing him to accompany the mutinous army in their retreat, and permitting his name to be used as a rallying-point for the disaffected and as an argument for others still wavering to join his standard of revolt.

Repudiation by Mr. Saunders of any share in the guarantees offered the King and members of the Royal family.

12. I have deemed it right thus fully to dilate on the subject as I am not aware that hitherto the grounds for conceding this guarantee have been placed on record, nor do I believe that it is generally known by whom it was accorded. Without wishing in any way to shrink from any responsibility which properly attaches to my office or conduct, I must beg to repudiate any personal share in the matter of granting this or any other guarantee that was given, and regarding all of which it must be borne in mind that overtures were made, and negotiations were being carried on through Captain Hodson (who had originally been placed in charge of the Intelligence Department by General Sir H. Barnard) several days previously to my assuming charge of the office of Agent to the Lieutenant-Governor at Delhi and before the city was evacuated by the enemy. The moment I became aware that measures of the above kind had been carried on through the Intelligence Department, of which I had not been made acquainted, and that negotiations affecting not only our political relations but the prize money of the army were being conducted through the same agency, I addressed a letter to General Wilson pointing out to him the difficulties that would infallibly arise from two officers exercising at the same time and independently of each other political functions; that I was the party who would be held primarily responsible by Government for all such questions; and therefore requesting him to direct Captain Hodson for the future to abstain from exercising any control whatever in such matters. These views the General at once acceded to, and moreover directed that Captain Hodson should at once make over to me all the papers and establishments connected with the Intelligence Department, which with the fall of Delhi had ceased to be of that paramount importance which it unquestionably was during the progress of the siege.

13. I have considered it due to myself to place on record all the above facts, in order that the Government may clearly understand what took place and appreciate fully the difficulties under which I labored when I was thus called upon to assume charge, at a most critical moment, of my present duties upon the sudden and unexpected death of my predecessor.

Examination by Mr. Saunders of the assertions in the "Friend of India."

Refutation of the allegations of the guilt of Mirza Jumma Bakht, son of the King by the Begam Zinat Mahal.

14. I will now proceed to examine and report in detail upon every assertion contained in the article published in the "Friend of India." The first assertion is that "the youngest son of the King, 18 years of age, has been declared innocent on account of his youth." In the above there are several, though perhaps trivial, inaccuracies. The youth alluded to is Mirza Juma Bukht, son of the King by the Begum Zeenut Mahal. He is not 18 years of age, but only 17, and moreover is not the youngest son of the King, as there is one still younger of the name of Shah Abbas, who boasts, with or without reason, the same parentage as far as the father is concerned, but a different mother. Mirza Juma Bukht may have been declared innocent on account of his youth, and I am inclined to think that this is not the first or only occasion on which youth and innocence have been coupled together and considered synonymous terms ; but I also aver that he is innocent on another ground and one which the public in their present mood will not perhaps be more inclined to admit as a justification, *viz.*, his *want of guilt*, unless indeed it be a crime in him to have been the son of his father. Not one single document among the numerous State papers discovered in the palace since we took possession has a single allusion, as far as I am aware, to his existence, much less to his complicity in this insurrection. Neither he nor his younger brother, Shah Abbas, were ever invested with military command by the King, by whom the coloneleies of different mutinous regiments were conferred upon his elder brothers, nor is it pretended by any one that either he or his younger brother took any part whatever, directly or indirectly, in the progress of the insurrection. A greater amount of public clamour has been raised with regard to this youth, Juma Bukht, because it is known that the

Refutation of the allegations of the guilt of Mirza Jumma Bakht.

King from his prediliction for Begum Zeenut Mahal has for some time been anxious that the youth should be recognised by our Government as the heir-apparent, and it is therefore surmised that he must have had great influence with the King and have been the mainspring of the whole insurrection. Such, however, is not the case. The Begum Zeenut Mahal is a very clever and intriguing woman, and has had very considerable influence over the King in his old age. This influence she doubtless exerted to endeavour to secure for her son the succession to the throne upon the King's death, and for this purpose finding that my predecessor, Mr. Simon Fraser, and the Local Government were opposed to her views, she had accredited to England a special Vakeel to plead her cause and obtain support, before the insurrection took place. One of his letters from England, which came by post during the commencement of the insurrection, has been delivered over to me since the capture of the city.

15. The very fact, however, that Zeenut Mahal was anxious to secure the succession of her son has been the sole groundwork of her having to a considerable extent kept aloof from the political intrigues of the Court during this insurrection. The moment the mutinies at Meerut and Delhi took place, the elder sons of the King, Mirza Moghul, Mirzas Khizer Sultan, Abdoolla, Khahyash and others, but especially the former, took a prominent part in the outbreak, and at once assumed military commands and allied themselves intimately with the mutinous soldiery. Mirza Moghul, whose evident aim and object throughout was to raise himself to the throne, through his influence with the army, obtained the appointment of Commander-in-Chief of the rebel army, and continued throughout to exercise the greatest influence in the palace, although upon the arrival of the Bareilly Brigade before Delhi his power was somewhat shorn by the elevation over his head of General Bukht Khan, a Soobadar of Captain Kirby's Battery, to the rank and titles of Lord Governor-General Bahadoor with supreme power under the King in all matters, Civil and Military.

16. It was under these circumstances that Zeenut Mahal found that her son, Juma Bukht, was entirely set aside by his elder brethren, and her only chance of securing the succession to her son was in the event of our success, and with this view more than once endeavoured to open negotiations with the General in Command and my predecessor. It was no love for the British that led her to keep her son in the background and clear from all complicity in the insurrection and attendant atrocities, but merely self-interest. Be the motive, however, what it may, the fact remains the same, *viz.*, that Mirza Juma Bukht took no part whatever in the insurrection and did not imbrue his hands directly or indirectly with the blood of our countrymen.

Circumstances under which the life of Mirza Jumma Bakht was guaranteed by Captain Hodson.

17. Be he guilty, however, or innocent, there is another and a more important ground apart from all moral considerations why his life should not be sacrificed as it were to the popular cry for vengeance, and that is that his life with those of his mother Zeenut Mahal and her father Ahmed Kooli Khan were guaranteed to them by Captain Hodson. The vernacular document embodying the guarantee bears date the 18th of September, two days before I assumed charge of my present duties. The correspondence on the subject as per margin, together with a copy of the guarantee and a translation of it, are annexed for the information of the Governor-General in Council.

My letter to Captain Hodson, Assistant Quartermaster-General, No. 3, dated 30th October 1857, and his reply, No. 2, dated 31st ditto.

Explanation of the circumstances under which Mirza Jumma Bakht was taken out on an elephant.

18. The next point I have to report upon is the question of the *elephant* which has been converted by the public press into a stalking horse whereon to hang their invectives. I admit freely that I have, I believe on two occasions, ridden an elephant in company with Juma Bukht, but certainly not to do him honor. The first occasion was on his being brought in a prisoner to me, late in the evening. I had been out in the city on an elephant, and upon my return found the prisoner awaiting my orders. Without getting off the elephant I permitted him to climb up its tail, and took him from one

Explanation of the circumstances under which Mirza Jumma Bakht was taken out on an elephant.

part of the palace to another, *viz.*, to the place of confinement assigned to the King and his mother, where I made over the charge of him to his custodian Lieutenant Ommanney, the officer in charge of the State prisoners. The other occasion, and which is the one that, occurring in the open day, appears to have given offence, is the following of which I deem it right to give a fuller explanation. Before the evacuation of the city negotiations for the ransom of the Begum's house and property simultaneously with the offer of a guarantee of her life, and those of her son and father, upon the payment of a lac of rupees, a demand subsequently enhanced to two lacs, were made in the interest of the Prize Agents appointed by the Army. Subsequently it came to my knowledge that the Begum had stipulated as a condition that on payment of the ransom she should be allowed to return to her private house in the city two miles from the palace, there apparently to enjoy her liberty with her son and remaining possessions. I of course refused to ratify or permit such an arrangement, and was in consequence more than once taunted with having deprived the army of this prize. When I next had occasion to see the King I demanded the surrender of the Crown jewels, which after some hesitation the Begum produced from behind the purdah. On my leaving the King's apartment, Mirza Juma Bukht followed me to the door, and in a low voice told me that, if I would not inform his father and mother, he would point out to me the spot in his mother's house where her jewels, money and other valuables were secreted. I told him I would call for him the next morning, which I accordingly did on the elephant, having in the interim asked the Prize Agents and a few other officers to meet me at the house. On this occasion I again permitted Juma Bukht to climb up on my elephant and seat himself behind me. The search resulted in my securing for the army considerably more than the promised ransom. *On no occasion am I aware of his having ridden through Delhi on an elephant with two British officers behind him to do him honor*, as stated in the "Friend of India."

19. As Colonel Hogge's name has also been brought before the public in connection with the elephant and Juma

Bukht, I consider it due to that officer to corroborate the statement which he published in the "Lahore Chronicle," a copy of which I enclose. The only point in which my recollection of the circumstances differs from his is that the offer to take him out originated with himself, as he was anxious to elicit information from him regarding the war. I agreed to the arrangement, as I told Colonel Hogge that I would with perfect safety commit the prisoner to his care. At that time I certainly did not, nor did any of the officers then present, consider that there was anything improper in allowing the young Prince, who I then believed, as I do now, innocent, to be taken out for an airing upon an elephant. Elephants, it must be remembered, form modes of conveyance which, though unusual in Calcutta and in Europe, are very commonly employed in Upper India. Wheeled carriages were at the time almost unknown in Delhi, and in its then filthy and desolate condition elephants afforded almost the only means of getting about. I regret having taken or allowed the Prince to be taken out on an elephant, and had I known the temper of the public and of the newspaper press at the time better, I admit that it would have been more judicious not to have given the former an occasion of offence, if such it be, or the latter a handle for invective and the expression of their virtuous indignation.

Explanation of the circumstances under which Mirza Jumma Bakht was taken out on an elephant.

20. The next charge contained in the article is that "the King has a retinue to attend him and coolly insults the British officers who visit him." The only retinue to attend upon the King, cook his meals and perform other menial duties, as well as to attend upon his two sons and the females of his family, are 10 domestic servants, of whom 2 are eunuchs. The remainder of the paragraph is simply a fabrication and entirely destitute of foundation, except perhaps in the converse of the proposition.

Refutation of the allegation that the King has a retinue of servants to attend him, and insults British officers.

21. With regard to the different leaders who were in custody unharmed in the month of October, I would beg to supply the following information :—

Refutation of the assertion that several leaders were unpunished in October 1857.

Hakeem Abdool Huq, having been convicted of treason and rebellion, was sentenced by me to death and has been executed.

Refutation of the assertion that several leaders were unpunished in October 1857.

Hossein Khan, whose proper appellation was Nawab Mahomed Husson Khan and was a native of Hindoostan and not of Persia, and commanded no particular regiment as stated, was also sentenced by me to death and has been executed. Regarding the orders in the above two cases I enclose a copy* of my report to Sir John Lawrence.

* *Vide* 289 (page 362).

Nawab Ahmed Kooli Khan, father-in-law of the King, who went out to meet the Bareilly Brigade and escorted them into the city, was protected by a guarantee of his life by Captain Hodson as before mentioned. He has, however, died in prison from the combined effects of old age and fever.

Nawab Ameen-ood-deen Khan, accused of assisting in the murder of Mr. Fraser.—There would appear to be some great confusion in the mind of the writer of the article with regard to this personage. I never heard it alleged by any one that the Nawab, the Jagheerdar of Loharoo, had anything whatever to do with the murder of my predecessor, the late Mr. Simon Fraser. In the notes left by Mr. Greathed, the Nawab is inserted as a friend to the British Government, and moreover there is no doubt that he sent valuable information on several occasions to our camp, and was looked upon with distrust by the mutineers, who would not permit him to leave the city. The only connection between him and the murder of Mr. Fraser which can have produced this mistake is that the Nawab is the half brother of Nawab Shumshoodeen Khan, who in the year 1839 caused the murder of Mr. William Fraser, then Commissioner of Delhi.

The Nawab of Jhujjur.—This Chief, it is true, is still under confinement; but as his case is one which, from the amount of his territorial estates, is sure more or less to be litigated hereafter in Parliament, I have deemed it advisable to have the evidence in his case prepared with more than ordinary attention and the documents implicating him translated with care. The same is the case with regard to the trials of the Nawabs of Furruck-

nuggur and Dadree and of the Raja of Bullubghur, all of whom are on the point of being brought before a Select Military Commission. With reference to the above I would beg to submit copies of my letters to General Penny, Nos. 19,* 20* and 22,† dated 26th November 1857 and 1st December 1857. From this correspondence you will perceive that it has been determined upon by Sir John Lawrence that, notwithstanding that his life has been guaranteed, the King should be brought before a Military Court of Enquiry, not with a view to any sentence being passed upon him (which will remain for the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council to determine), but in order that the whole of the valuable and voluminous documentary evidence found in the palace implicating him so strongly as it does and showing that after the mutinies had occurred he took a prominent and most important part in the insurrection, should be put on record as well for the information of the Government as for the satisfaction of the British public at large.

*Enclosures (1) and (2) to 290 (pages 363 and 364).

†292 (page 365).

Explanation regarding other allegations in the "Friend of India."

22. With reference to the remark of the "Friend of India" that "*it is useless to refer to* Lahore, *for* Sir John Lawrence *has no authority in the North-West,*" the above will show that that is not the case. Ever since the 20th September I have been acting solely under the orders of the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab. Neither do "the officers in Delhi dread the responsibility nor does crime wait for the punishment it deserves" further than is requisite to obtain something like proof of its perpetration by the accused.

23. With reference to the statement that "Lieutenant Hodson had no option in the matter of the King of Delhi," I would beg to refer you in refutation of this assertion to his own letter on the subject and to an extract from a demi-official letter which I herewith furnish.

24. Whether "General Penny is still acting under instructions left by Mr. Colvin, and which have not yet been superseded," I cannot say, but I should question much wheth-

er the General now Commanding the Force has any knowledge whatever as to what Mr. Colvin's instructions were, and they have certainly never been communicated to him by me.

Mr. Saunders welcomes the opportunity afforded him of refuting assertions made in the public prints.

25. Having now replied in detail to all the assertions in the article of the "Friend of India," I would beg to state that I am glad to have had an opportunity afforded me of officially correcting statements which have appeared in the public prints, and especially the "Lahore Chronicle," to my prejudice, and which, although utterly devoid of truth or grossly perverted, I have not deemed it consistent with my position to refute through the medium of the newspaper press.

[*Correspondence referred to in paragraph 7 of enclosure (2) to 262 (page 311).*]

ENCLOSURE (3) TO 262.

From C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, C. S., Commissioner and Agent, Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces, Delhi, to Lieutenant W. S. R. HODSON, Assistant Quartermaster-General, and Commandant, Irregular Horse, Delhi,—No. 2, dated Palace, Delhi, 30th October 1857.

Enquiry from Lieutenant Hodson regarding the authority under which the life of the ex-King was guaranteed.

INSTRUCTIONS having been received from the Governor-General in Council relative to the disposal of the ex-King of Delhi, which are dependent upon a guarantee having been given to him by a British officer that his life should be spared, I have the honor to request that you will state whether such guarantee was given to him by you at the time of his arrest, or was at any period previously communicated to him by either Moulvie Rujjub Alee, Mirza Ilahee Buksh or any other party.

I have further to request that you will inform me under whose instructions you were acting in offering the King a guarantee of his life, and that you will state in detail the circumstances under which he was induced to surrender himself a prisoner to the British Government.

ENCLOSURE (4) TO 262.

From Lieutenant W. S. R. HODSON, Assistant Quartermaster-General, and Commandant, Irregular Horse, Delhi, to C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, C. S., Commissioner and Agent, Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces, Delhi,—No. 3, dated Camp Delhi, 28th November 1857.

Statement of Lieutenant Hodson regarding the circumstances under which the life of the ex-King was guaranteed.

IN reply to your letter No. 2 of the 30th ultimo, I have the honor to inform you that the King of Delhi gave himself up to me on a distinct pledge being given to him that his life should be spared, and that he should be subjected to no personal indignity. This promise was made in the first instance to Begum Zeenut Mahal and her father through Mirza Elahee Buksh, and again on the day of the King's arrest by Moulvee Rujjub Alee in my name. It was subsequently repeated by myself personally to the King at his request.

2. I acted under the instructions of Major-General Wilson, Commanding the Field Force.

3. The circumstances under which the King gave himself up were as follows :—

When I ascertained that the King had actually quitted the palace with the intention of accompanying the rebel army, and that none of our troops would be immediately sent in pursuit, I obtained the Major-General's permission to endeavour to arrest his progress and seize him or induce him to surrender.

4. With this purpose I sent for Mirza Elahee Buksh, and through him opened a communication with Zeenut Mahal and her father. Their demands were at first extravagant,—the Begum asking that her son should be pronounced heir-apparent, and the succession to the throne guaranteed to him; while on the part of the King it was demanded that his pension should be continued undiminished, and the arrears for the five months subsequent to the outbreak in May paid up at once. It was with considerable difficultly that I succeeded in awakening them to the real position in which the King was

Circumstances under which the life of the ex-King was guaranteed by Lieutenant Hodson.

placed, and the utter impossibility of either the King or any of his family being ever restored to the throne they had forfeited.

5. When at length they comprehended that not only the liberty, but the lives, of the King and his sons were at stake, I succeeded in enlisting Zeenut Mahal in the cause by guaranteeing the lives of her son and father. On this condition alone would she consent to use her influence with the King and to endeavour to induce him to surrender. Mirza Elahee Buksh then followed the King's party and overtook them on the road to the Kootub and persuaded him to return to Nizam-ood-deen's shrine near Humayoon's tomb. Here he was joined by Zeenut Mahal, and the whole party then moved into the tomb of Humayoon. Mirza Elahee Buksh returned to me with this news on the evening of the day on which Delhi was evacuated by the enemy. On the following morning I sent him out again accompanied by Moulvee Rujjub Alee, and a small escort of horsemen, following after a brief interval with 50 more of my men.

6. On approaching the tomb Moulvee Rujjub Alee's party were attacked and four horsemen wounded. But, as this appeared to be the act of fanatics, and not due to the King's party, I did not think it necessary to desist from the attempt to secure his person. I therefore sent a Resaldar (Sirdar Man Singh) with 16 men to the Moulvee with orders to give me instant notice if any attempt was made to remove the King, and to destroy any one attempting to leave the tomb. I remained myself within sight, but screened by some buildings from observation. Moulvee Rujjub Alee was directed to say to the King that if he came out quietly and gave himself up I would ensure his safety, but that if he now ventured to leave the tomb, I had command of the entrance, and would shoot him and his attendants without mercy.

7. After a long delay of two or three hours the Resaldar came to say that the King was coming, and presently Mirza Elahee Buksh and the Moulvee appeared escorting the King's palanquin closely followed by that of the Begum with

their attendants and a host of the fugitives from the palace and city. The palanquins stopped, and a message was sent to me to say that the King wished to hear from my own lips that his life would be spared. I rode up to the spot, seizing the opportunity to interpose my men between the King's immediate party and the crowd pressing on behind, the appearance of which was threatening. I dismounted for an instant, and reassured the King and the Begum (both of whom were evidently much agitated and frightened) by the promise that his life would be spared, provided that no attempt was made at a rescue, which at the time I thought very imminent. I then remounted, and in a sufficiently loud tone to be heard by the crowd repeated the words; adding a command to my men to shoot the first person who attempted to move. I then desired Mirza Elahee Buksh and Moulvee Rujjub Alee to proceed with the palanquins, following with my men as soon as they were a sufficient distance from the crowd. An hour later I had the satisfaction of making over the King of Delhi and the Begum to you by the Major-General's orders at the gates of the palace.

Circumstances under which the life of the ex-King was guaranteed by Lieutenant Hodson.

[*Papers referred to in paragraph 17 of enclosure (2) to 262 (page 317).*]

ENCLOSURE (5) TO 262.

From C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, C. S., Offg. Commissioner and Agent, Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces, Delhi, to Lieutenant W. S. R. HODSON, Assistant Quartermaster-General, and Commandant, Irregular Horse, Delhi,—No. 3, dated 30th October 1857.

I HAVE to request that you will state whether any guarantee was given by you to either Begum Zeenut Mahal, her son Mirza Juwan Bukht, or to her father Ahmed Kuli Khan, that their lives should be spared, and if so, when and under whose authority were you acting on the occasion.

Enquiry from Lieutenant Hodson as to whether the lives of the Begam and others were guaranteed.

ENCLOSURE (6) TO 262.

From Lieutenant W. S. R. HODSON, Assistant Quartermaster-General, and Commandant, Irregular Horse, Delhi, to C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, C. S., Offg. Commissioner and Agent, Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces, Delhi,—No. 2, dated Camp Delhi, 31st October 1857.

Guaranteeing of the lives of the Begam, her son and father by Lieutenant Hodson.

IN reply to your letter No. 3 of the 30th instant, I have the honor to inform you the lives of Begum Zeenut Mahal, her son Mirza Juwan Bukht, and her father Ahmed Kuli Khan were all guaranteed by me.

2. This was done in writing on the 18th of September last, the day before the city of Delhi was evacuated by the enemy. The original purwanah containing the above guarantee is in your possession I believe; if not, I can furnish a copy of it.

3. I acted under the authority of Major-General Wilson, Commanding the Field Force, his orders being to use every endeavour to secure the person of the King of Delhi, and to take what measures I thought best for the purpose.

ENCLOSURE (7) TO 262.

Translation of the guarantee given by Captain HODSON, Assistant Quartermaster-General, to Begum Zeenut Mahal,—dated 18th September 1857.

Translation of the guarantee given by Lieutenant Hodson.

AFTER compliments, states that the punishment of parties who have taken part in the insurrection is desirable, but that the lives of herself, her son Juwan Bukht, and her father are guaranteed to them, and that they need not be apprehensive, but continue to occupy their premises as usual; that, as he is anxious to make some particular enquiries, requests that a trustworthy man from herself may be sent to him immediately; and that a guard will be furnished for the protection of her house.

[*Paper referred to in paragraph 23 of enclosure (2) to 262 (page 321)*].

ENCLOSURE (8) TO 262.

Extract from a demi-official letter from Captain W. S. R. HODSON, Assistant Quartermaster-General, to C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, C. S., Offg. Commissioner and Agent, Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces, Delhi,—dated 26th November 1857.

Acceptance by Captain Hodson of the responsibility of urging Major-General Wilson to spare the life of the King.

IF any blame is due for sparing the King's life, it is due solely to me, for I begged the General to let me guarantee it on the simple ground that as he had decided *not* to send a column by the direct road in pursuit of Bukht Khan's people, the only chance of seizing the King's person was to bring influence to bear on him and on his love of life so as to induce him to stop and not to go on with the troops. He was within a little of the Kootub when he was persuaded to return. I still think that it was the best course. However much I should have wished to see the King hung or shot, I cannot but think that sparing his life was a less evil than allowing his name to be used as a rallying-point for the disaffected, and as an argument for others to join. We had not, and have not yet, sufficient troops in the country to run the risk of any further insurrection or defection. I have used the words "personal indignity" in my letter. The words I used were "be-izzut nahin hone paogee" in reply to his entreaty that I would protect him from "be-izzut" at the hands of the "gora logue."

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263. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, C. S., Offg. Commissioner and Agent, Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces, Delhie,—No. 82 B., dated Lahore, 12th December 1857.*

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 67,* dated 3rd instant, with enclosures, and to forward copy† of his despatch of this date to the Supreme Government.

*Enclosure (1) to 262 (page 308).
†262 (page 306).

Doubt as to the power given to Lieutenant Hodson to guarantee the King's life.

With reference to paragraph 4 of the letter, I am to request that the doubt as to the power given to Lieutenant Hodson to guarantee the King's life may be explained by that officer.

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264. *From C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, C. S., Offg. Commissioner and Agent, Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces, Delhi, to Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore,—No. 78, dated Palace, Delhi, 17th December 1857.*

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter No. 82 B., communicating to me a copy of the Chief Commissioner's despatch to the Supreme Government on the subject of the explanation submitted by me in my letter No. 1,* dated 2nd December, to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department.

*Enclosure (2) to 262 (page 309).

Explanation required from Lieutenant Hodson.

2. With reference to your remark that the doubt as to the power given to Lieutenant Hodson to guarantee the King's life may be explained by that officer, I would beg to inform you that, in compliance with previous instructions on the same subject, I addressed a letter to General Penny, a copy of which I append, requesting that Lieutenant Hodson might be called upon to submit the required explanation. That officer, however, has proceeded on service with Colonel Seaton's Column down country, and some little further delay may occur before his reply is received.

3. It has afforded me satisfaction to perceive that the Chief Commissioner has fully recognized and appreciated the very peculiar and difficult circumstances in which I was placed on my first assuming charge of my office.

Further denial by Mr. Saunders of any participation in the offer of the guarantee.

4. I would, however, beg, with reference to the 4th paragraph of the Chief Commissioner's despatch to Government, with all due submission, to state that the inference which has therein been drawn from the fact that in his demi-official communication as per margin "General Wilson does not state that he gave Lieutenant Hodson him-

Demi-offical letter from General Wilson to Sir John Lawrence, K. C. B., dated 24th November 1857,—260 (page 305).

self power to guarantee His Majesty's life," although a natural one, is nevertheless an incorrect inference. The conclusion which has been drawn is that, "that authority would appear to have been only vested in Mr. C. Saunders himself and in no case extended to any other individual."

Further denial by Mr. Saunders of any participation in the guaranteeing of the King's life.

5. The explanation of the circumstances under which the guarantee was given by Lieutenant Hodson, as given in my report to Government above alluded to, is a strictly correct one, and cannot, I am confident, be impugned by any one cognizant of the real facts of the case. I would again most emphatically deny that I had any personal share in the granting of the guarantee.

6. General Wilson states in his letter that "I allowed Mr. Saunders to offer the same guarantee after the city fell into our hands on the condition that the King gave himself up unreservedly. The guarantee thus given extended solely to life being spared, and that he was to be disposed of at the discretion of Government." I do not believe that General Wilson had any intention in writing the above in any way to shift the responsibility for the guarantee upon my shoulders, but on the contrary to imply that he had himself authorized the offer of the guarantee, having previously, as he states, in consultation with my predecessor, Mr. Greathed, agreed to do so.

7. Had the General upon more mature consideration and fuller recollection of the circumstances substituted in the above the name of Lieutenant Hodson for Mr. Saunders, the statement would, I believe, have been strictly correct in every particular. I feel sure that the General will readily admit the fact that Lieutenant Hodson, during my absence and without my knowledge, applied to him for permission to negotiate with Mirza Ilahee Buksh for the surrender of the King, and that without previous consultation with me he did authorize Lieutenant Hodson to offer the King his life and to proceed with a detachment of his regiment to secure his person on his surrendering himself up upon the sole condition of his life, and that I believe of his wife Zeenut Mahal, being spared.

Further denial by Mr. Saunders of any participation in the guaranteeing of the King's life.

8. Captain Stewart, Assistant Adjutant-General, was present at the time when the General during my absence at Mr. Greathed's funeral communicated his instructions to Lieutenant Hodson, and has authorized me to mention the fact in corroboration of my assertion. Lieutenant Hodson himself has never stated that I ever authorized him to make an offer of his life to the King, and I therefore feel justified in expecting that my denial of any participation in the offer of the guarantee may be implicitly believed.

9. I have deemed it right once more to place the above facts on record as I cannot but think that the General's demi-official letter to the address of the Chief Commissioner is calculated somewhat unfairly, but nevertheless I believe unintentionally, to lead to the inference that I had been a party to the negotiations conducted by Lieutenant Hodson which resulted in the surrender of the King, and still further that I having been vested with authority from the General was the party who actually made the offer to the King of a guarantee of his life,—an inference, however, which I assert is utterly at variance with the real facts.

ENCLOSURE TO 264.

From C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, C. S., Offg. Commissioner and Agent, Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces, Delhi, to Major-General N. PENNY, C. B., Commanding Delhi Field Force,—No. 66, dated Palace, Delhi, 5th December 1857.

Call for an explanation from Captain Hodson as to the authority under which he guaranteed the lives of the King and others.

UNDER instructions from the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab conveyed in the accompanying copy of a letter to my address from his Officiating Secretary, No. 793,* dated 3rd December 1857, I have the honor to request that you will, with reference to the enclosed copy of a letter from Major-General Wilson, call upon Captain Hodson to state under what circumstances and on what authority he guaranteed the lives of the King of Delhi and of his son Juma Bukht as well as of Ahmed Kuli Khan, the father of Begam Zeenut Mahal, of Hamid Ali Khan, or of any other individuals.

*261 (page 306).

In further compliance with the Chief Commissioner's instructions, I have to request that you will require Captain Hodson to state the authority on which he gave protection to the property of any of these persons or indeed of anybody connected with the present insurrection.

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265. *From Lieutenant E. H. Paske, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 83, dated 24th December 1857.*

Assurance that Sir J. Lawrence did not intend to imply that Mr. Saunders was a party to the guaranteeing of the King's life.

In continuation of my letter No. 82* of the 12th instant, I am directed to submit, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, the annexed copy of a letter No. 78,† dated 17th idem, and to state that the Chief Commissioner did not intend in the letter above quoted to imply that Mr. Saunders was a party to the guarantee of the King's life, for he perceived that that gentleman had clearly disclaimed having had any part in the act.

*262 (page 306).

†264 (page 328).

No. 83 B., dated 24th December 1857.

Copy forwarded to Mr. Saunders, Officiating Commissioner, Delhi.

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266. *From Lieutenant E. H. Paske, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to Major-General Wilson, Meeruth,—No. 83 C., dated 24th December 1857.*

Enquiry from Major-General Wilson as to the precise nature of the orders given by him to Lieutenant Hodson.

Lieutenant Hodson having stated in an official letter dated 28th ultimo to the address of the Commissioner of Delhie that in guaranteeing the life of the King he acted under instructions from you, I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to beg that you will state, for the information of Government, the precise nature of the orders given by you to Lieutenant Hodson on this subject.

2. Your demi-official letter* of the 24th ultimo to the address of the Chief Commissioner is not clear as to whether you gave any power or not to Lieutenant Hodson in this matter.

*260 (page 305).

267. *From Lieutenant E. H. Paske, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 84, dated 4th January 1858.*

Acceptance by General Wilson of the responsibility of having empowered Lieutenant Hodson to guarantee the life of the King of Delhi.

In continuation of my letter No. 82† of the 12th ultimo, I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to submit, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, the annexed copy of a letter dated 27th idem from Major-General Wilson, stating that he empowered Lieutenant Hodson to guarantee the King of Delhie's life, if he gave himself up unconditionally.

†262 (page 306).

Enclosure to 267.

From Major-General A. Wilson to Lieutenant E. H. Paske, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—dated Meerut, 27th December 1857.

In reply to your letter No. 83 C.‡ of the 24th instant, I have the honor to report, for the information of the Chief Commissioner, that my instructions to Lieutenant Hodson were verbal ones given, I believe, on the afternoon of the 20th September, and that I cannot state the precise words of the instructions, but that they were, as before stated in my demi-official§ of the 24th November last, to the effect that if the King gave himself up unconditionally his life should be guaranteed.

‡266 (page 331).

§260 (page 305).

These instructions were given as it was believed the King was a mere tool of the rebels, and it was considered of great political importance that his person should be in our possession.

268. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Offg. Commissioner, Delhie,—No. 84 B., dated 4th January 1858.*

IN continuation of my letter No. 82 B.* of the 12th ultimo, I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to forward, for your information, the annexed copy of a letter dated 27th idem from Major-General Wilson, stating that he empowered Lieutenant Hodson to guarantee the life of the King of Delhie, if he surrendered himself unconditionally.

*263 (page 327).

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269. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 85, dated 13th January 1858.*

Assertion by General Wilson that the life of the King of Delhi was spared on the recommendation of Mr. C. B. Saunders.

IN continuation of my letter No. 84† of the 4th instant, I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to submit, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, the annexed copy of a letter No. 3, dated 2nd idem, from the Officiating Commissioner of Delhie and of the documents therewith received, on the subject of the guarantee given by General Wilson that the King of Delhie's life should be spared.

†267 (page 332).

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 269.

From C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, C. S., Offg. Commissioner, Delhee, to Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 3, dated Palace, Delhee, 2nd January 1858.

IN continuation of my letter No. 78,‡ dated 17th ultimo, I have the honor to annex, for the information of the Chief Commissioner, copies of further correspondence which has taken place, on the subject of the guarantee of his life to the ex-King of Delhee, between the Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department and myself, and shall feel obliged by your having a copy of my reply forwarded to the latter officer without delay, as in the present state of the dak com-

‡264 (page 328).

Assertion of General Wilson that the life of the King of Delhi was spared on the recommendation of Mr. C. B. Saunders.

munications between this and Calcutta it is by no means improbable that the original may never reach its destination.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 269.

From G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Officiating Commissioner, Delhi,—No. 366, dated Fort William, 30th November 1857.

I AM directed by the Governor-General in Council to forward herewith, for such explanation as you may be prepared to offer, the accompanying copy of a letter from Major-General Wilson, late Commanding Delhi Field Force, dated 23rd October last, reporting that the life of the ex-King of Delhi was conditionally spared by him in compliance with your recommendation.

ENCLOSURE (3) TO 269.

From Major-General A. WILSON, late Commanding Delhi Field Force, to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—dated 23rd October 1857.

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your telegraph message of the 10th instant, which has been forwarded to me by Major-General Penny, C. B., my successor in command of the Delhi Field Force.

Major-General Penny has taken a copy of the message and will act upon the instructions therein contained in respect to demolishing the defences of Delhi, and in sending the King a prisoner to Allahabad as soon as the road is open.

With respect to the conditions on which the King's life has been spared, I have the honor to report, for the information of the Governor-General in Council, that the late Mr. Greathed, Commissioner with the force under my command, previous to the assault of the city, having reason to believe that the King had a wish to give himself up, recommended to me to guarantee his life on his doing so. Mr. Saunders, successor to Mr. Greathed, also made a similar recommendation to me after the city fell into our hands, if the King gave himself up un-

reservedly. To both of these recommendations I gave my consent, and I also gave the same guarantee to Zeenut Mahal, the favorite Begum of the King, but to none other of the King's family.

The guarantee thus given extended only to life being spared, it being fully understood they were to be disposed of at the discretion of the Government.

ENCLOSURE (4) TO 269.

From C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Offg. Commissioner and Agent, Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces, Delhi, to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 2, dated Palace, Delhi, 31st December 1857.

Denial by Mr. C. B. Saunders of the assertion that the life of the King of Delhi was spared on his recommendation.

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 366,* dated 30th November 1857, forwarding for such explanation as I may be prepared to offer a copy of a letter from Major-General Wilson, late Commanding Delhi Field Force, dated 23rd October last, reporting that the life of the ex-King of Delhi was conditionally spared by him in compliance with my recommendation.

*Enclosure (2) to 269 (page 334).

2. I have already submitted in my letter No. 1,† dated 2nd instant, to your address, and in further correspondence as per margin,‡ copies of which have been transmitted to you by the Governments of the Punjab and of the North-Western Provinces, a full and detailed explanation of all the circumstances under which the guarantee of the King's life was accorded.

†Enclosure (2) to 262 (page 309).

‡ (1). No. 793, dated 3rd December, from Secretary to Chief Commissioner, Lahore, enclosing a copy of a letter from General Wilson, dated 24th November 1857,—261 (page 306).
(2). No. 66, dated 5th December, to General N. Penny, C. B., with reference to the above,—Enclosure to 264 (page 330).
(3). No. 82 B., dated 12th December, from Secretary to Chief Commissioner, Lahore,—263 (page 327).
(4). No. 78, dated 17th December, to ditto in reply to above,—264 (page 328).

3. As in the above correspondence I have emphatically

Denial by Mr. C. B. Saunders of the assertion that the life of the King of Delhi was spared on his recommendation.

denied any personal participation in granting the guarantee to the King of Delhi of his life, it was not without considerable surprise that I read the letter from Major-General Wilson to your address, in which he distinctly asserts that it was in compliance with my recommendation that he gave his consent to the measure, which had also been previously recommended to him by my predecessor, the late Mr. Greathed.

4. As the assertion is so completely at variance, as far as my own conduct on the occasion is concerned, with what I have before placed upon record on this subject, I deemed it right before submitting any further explanation in the matter to Government to address General Wilson with a view to recall to his recollection the circumstances under which he granted the King the guarantee of his life, and to obtain from him an admission of his having been in error in stating that I recommended the measure, as well as to obviate the necessity for any further references from Calcutta and lengthened correspondence on the subject.

5. I have also considered it due to all parties to obtain from Captain Stewart, Assistant Adjutant-General (who with the exception of the General and Lieutenant Hodson was the only party present when the latter applied for and obtained permission from the former to offer the guarantee) a statement of what took place on the occasion. Copies of this correspondence are annexed for the information of Government.

6. A perusal of this correspondence will, I trust, render any very lengthy remarks on my part unnecessary; but, as I have been called upon by the Government to render an explanation, it behoves me not merely to dismiss the subject with again most emphatically denying any personal participation in the offer of the guarantee, but to state the grounds on which I expect that my denial may be implicitly credited.

7. It would be but tedious to recapitulate the circumstances under which the guarantee was offered, as I have stated them fully for the information of Government in my former explanation and also in the accompanying letter which I have

addressed to the General. The statement of facts therein contained is in every respect a correct one, and cannot I assert be impugned.

Denial by Mr. C. B. Saunders of the assertion that the life of the King of Delhi was spared on his recommendation.

8. General Wilson in his letter* to your address of the 23rd of October, which forms the ground work on which I have been called upon for an explanation, distinctly states that it was upon my recommendation after the city fell into our hands that he gave his consent to the guarantee of his life being accorded to the King.

*Enclosure (3) to 269 (page 334).

9. In his demi-official letter† to Sir John Lawrence of the 24th November, a copy of which was transmitted to you under cover of letter No. 82,‡ dated 12th December, from the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, he makes no mention of my having recommended the measure, but after saying that he had at the recommendation of Mr. Greathed, previous to the assault when he had some expectation of the King volunteering to come into our camp, agreed to guarantee to him his life, adds "I allowed Mr. Saunders to offer the same guarantee after the city fell into our hands."

†260 (page 305).
‡262 (page 306).

10. In his letter to me of the 28th December 1857 he states that he had Mr. Greathed's recommendation to guarantee the King's life, and it "struck him when he was writing to you on the 23rd October that he had mine also, but that he may have been mistaken in supposing that he had received my recommendation on the 20th September," and adds that on such a day of excitement it is very probable that he may have made such a mistake.

11. I think that this may be fairly considered as an admission on the part of the General that he was in error in making the two several and not quite similar statements contained in his former letter.

12. The few days succeeding the assault, while the possession of the city was being contested step by step between our troops and those of the enemy, were certainly days of very

Denial by Mr. C. B. Saunders of the assertion that the life of the King of Delhi was spared on his recommendation.

great anxiety and excitement, and it is not to be wondered at that the General in Command, with whom the whole responsibility rested, and on whom indeed it may be said that the fate of British supremacy in India then to a great extent depended, might not have been able to recall exactly what took place at that eventful juncture.

13. From Captain Stewart's letter it will be seen that from my absence on the occasion I could not have taken any part in the conversation which resulted in the General's permitting Captain Hodson to offer the guarantee, nor would it appear that in subsequent conversations on the subject the General ever mentioned my name in connection with it.

14. From the report and demi-official letter of Captain Hodson, copies of which I have before submitted, it would not appear that that officer has ever asserted my having had any participation in the matter.

15. To the best of my belief, the General, previous to the King's person having been actually secured upon the strength of the guarantee made to him by Captain Hodson, never asked my opinion with reference to the measure, and I am equally confident that I never volunteered to give it.

16. I did not receive, until after the ex-King had been made over a prisoner to me, any of the official documents in the possession of Mr. Greathed at the time of his decease, nor had I read the instructions which had from time to time been sent to him, and was perfectly ignorant of what the views of the Government of India or of the North-Western Provinces were with reference to the treatment of the Royal family of Delhi or other measures of State policy, and it was not therefore probable that I should have volunteered my opinion on the subject unless I had been called upon to give it.

17. I did, however, consider it to be my duty, immediately after the fall of Delhi, to urge most strongly upon the General the necessity of organizing a force to pursue the fugitive columns of the enemy and to secure the destruction, if pos-

sible, of all those who had taken a prominent part in the rebellion.

Denial by Mr. C. B. Saunders of the assertion that the life of the King of Delhi was spared on his recommendation.

18. It must be borne in mind that the Infantry and perhaps more especially the Artillery of the force had been for nearly three weeks without rest fighting almost without intermission or relief both in the trenches and in the city, and were totally unfit for further immediate exertion.

19. I therefore suggested that the Cavalry, which not having undergone the same harassing duties as the other branches of the service and from having remained outside the city had not been subjected to the same demoralizing influences as the rest, were in a position to be more readily made available for the pursuit, should be immediately sent to scour the country to the south of the city.

20. Had it been found practicable to carry out these views, I am confident that the King's person might have been secured without the offer of any guarantee.

21. The General, however, refused, and I have no doubt on military grounds very properly so, to send the Cavalry unsupported by Infantry and Artillery in pursuit of the flying enemy, as the nature of the ground from the number of old ruins and walled enclosures which would give shelter and protection to the fugitives rendered it unsafe to employ that arm of the service alone on such duties.

22. He was, however, equally alive to the necessity of organizing a flying column for the pursuit and gave directions for equipping a force for the purpose which it was not found practicable to despatch for several days and not until too late to be of any use in pursuing the enemy down the right bank of the Jumna.

23. It was under these circumstances, and these alone, when I found that no force could be at once sent to pursue the enemy and arrest or destroy the leading members of the rebellion and not till after the person of the King had been on the strength of the guarantee secured, that I can be said, as stated by the General, to have approved of the measure, for

Denial by Mr. C. B. Saunders of the assertion that the life of the King of Delhi was spared on his recommendation.

I certainly did consider that it was far preferable to have secured his person, whether with or without a guarantee of his life, than to allow him, as I have before stated, to be carried off by the mutineers to become a rallying-point for the disaffected.

24. From the tenor of the General's letter to myself I cannot but perceive that, while admitting his error, he is somewhat impressed with the idea that I am anxious to throw the whole of the responsibility of the guarantee upon him. Had I been before aware that he had reported to Government that he had consented to the measure upon my recommendation, I might perhaps from motives of delicacy have been unwilling to have contradicted the assertion, however unfair or unjust I might have deemed it. But the case is now widely different; in total ignorance of what the General had written either to Government or to Sir John Lawrence, and in answer to a requisition from the Governor-General in Council founded upon assertions contained in the public prints, I submitted a full and correct statement of the circumstances under which the guarantee was accorded. I therein stated mere matters of fact, and in justice to myself I denied any personal participation in the guarantee.

25. Having made this statement, it has naturally become on my part a question of character and principle to maintain the correctness of my assertions and to vindicate my veracity. The conqueror of Delhi can well afford to bear the sole responsibility of his own acts, but for myself I cannot afford to have my truthfulness impugned or honor called in question; it is therefore in no ungenerous spirit that I refuse to bear any responsibility with regard to my participation in the guarantee further than may have been incurred by me in not having, which I freely admit, entered a protest against the measure and thereby in a manner having tacitly acquiesced in it.

26. I trust that the above explanation may be deemed by the Governor-General in Council to be satisfactory and explicit.

[*Correspondence referred to in paragraph 4 of enclosure (4) to 269 (page 336).*]

ENCLOSURE (5) TO 269.

From C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Offg. Commissioner of Delhi, to Major-General WILSON, C. B., Meerut,—dated Delhi, 27th December 1857.

Assertion that the life of the King of Delhi was spared on the recommendation of Mr. Saunders. Reference by Mr. Saunders to General Wilson.

I HAVE received the accompanying copy of a letter from Mr. Edmonstone calling upon me to submit such an explanation as I may be prepared to offer with reference to a statement which you appear to have made to Government, that the life of the ex-King of Delhi had been conditionally spared by you in compliance with my recommendation.

2. I feel sure that in making the above statement you had no wish whatever to throw the responsibility of the measure off your shoulders on to mine, and that if you had called the circumstances under which the guarantee was accorded to your recollection more carefully you would have written differently on the subject.

3. You will, I think, remember on recalling the subject to your recollection that I was not present on the occasion when Captain Hodson applied for and obtained your permission to guarantee the King his life, but was at the time absent at Mr. Greathed's funeral. The only other person present besides Captain Hodson and yourself was, I believe, Captain Stewart, the Assistant Adjutant-General, who has authorized me to state that he heard all that passed on the occasion, having taken a part, I believe, in the conversation.

4. This occurred on the afternoon of the 20th of September, Mr. Greathed having died at midnight on the 19th. The whole of the morning of the 20th you were engaged in giving your instructions for the attack on the palace, which came off in the middle of the day. I had no conversation with you relative to the apprehension of the King and his family, nor did I join you at the palace that day, but proceeded early in the afternoon to cantonments to attend the funeral of my predecessor Mr. Greathed. I cannot therefore be held responsible for having recommended you to offer the guarantee.

Assertion that the life of the King of Delhi was spared on the recommendation of Mr. Saunders. Reference by Mr. Saunders to General Wilson.

5. On my return from the funeral I met Captain Hodson outside the city near the Cashmere Gate galloping towards cantonments. As he passed me, he checked his horse and called out that he was off to make arrangements for securing the King's person through Ilahee Buksh, as he had received your permission to guarantee the King his life. This was the first I heard of the probability of the King's person being secured, and I certainly had nothing whatever to do with counselling you to the measure. Whether Mr. Greathed had recommended you to offer the King his life or not I know not, but I think it highly probable that he did so, as he informed me on the day before his death that he had Mr. Colvin's authority to grant him his life.

6. Under the circumstances I have mentioned I feel sure that you will readily admit that upon a more careful recollection of what took place you were in error in stating that you offered the guarantee of his life to the King upon my recommendation, and will moreover allow that it was Captain Hodson, and not myself, who was the party authorized by you to grant the King his life on condition of his giving himself up unreservedly.

7. I shall feel obliged by your sending me an early reply, as I am anxious to submit my explanation without loss of time, and I do not wish to do so without first communicating with you on the subject.

ENCLOSURE (6) TO 269.

From Major-General A. WILSON, C. B., to C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Offg. Political Agent, Delhi,—dated Meerut, 28th December 1857.

Reply of General Wilson to reference from Mr. Saunders.

I AM quite sure that I gave no orders in any political question without the advice of the Political Agent with the force. I had Mr. Greathed's recommendation to guarantee the King's life, and it struck me when writing to Mr. Edmonstone on the 23rd October last that I had yours also. I may have been mistaken in supposing I had received your recommendation on the 20th September. On such a day of excitement I may

very probably have made such a mistake, but I am quite sure that you approved of the measure afterwards, and that when the King was brought in I told you that he was your prisoner, and that you must do what you considered best for his safe custody. I only directed that not more than ten attendants should be allowed for him and the Begum.

I considered then that the King had been only a tool in the hands of the mutineers, and that it was a wise political measure to secure his person and prevent his being carried off by the rebels. This was also I believe your own opinion.

I can assure you that I have no wish whatever to throw responsibility on any one's shoulders, and as Mr. Greathed is dead and I have no evidence of my conversations with him on this subject, and you object to taking any responsibility on your part, you are perfectly at liberty to throw the whole on my shoulders. In fact I do not see how any one else can be called upon. As commanding the force the whole power and responsibility rested with me. I could ask advice, but could act upon it or not as I thought right.

[*Correspondence referred to in paragraph 5 of enclosure (4) to 269 (page 336).*]

ENCLOSURE (7) TO 269.

From C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Offg. Political Agent, Delhi, to Captain W. M. STEWART, Assistant Adjutant-General, Delhi,—dated Delhi, 29th December 1857.

Guaranteeing of the life of the King of Delhi. Evidence of Captain W. M. Stewart, Assistant Adjutant-General, Delhi.

I HAVE been called upon by direction of the Governor-General in Council to submit any explanation which I may be prepared to offer with reference to the accompanying copy of a letter from Major-General Wilson to the address of the Secretary to the Government of India, dated 23rd October last, reporting that the life of the ex-King of Delhi was conditionally spared by him in compliance with my recommendation.

Guaranteeing of the life of the King of Delhi. Evidence of Captain W. M. Stewart.

As I believe you were present when Captain Hodson applied for and obtained permission from General Wilson to guarantee the King's life, I shall feel obliged by your stating for my satisfaction and for the information of Government what took place on that occasion and whether I was present or had anything to do with the offer of the guarantee.

I should also feel obliged by your informing me whether, in the subsequent conversations which I believe you have had with General Wilson and other officers of the Head-Quarters Staff at Meerut relative to the circumstances under which the guarantee was accorded, you have heard my name mentioned either by the General or others in connection with the above as having recommended the measure.

ENCLOSURE (8) TO 269.

From Captain W. M. STEWART, Assistant Adjutant-General, Delhi, to C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Offg. Commissioner, &c., &c.,—dated Delhi, 29th December 1857.

I DID not hear all that passed in the Dewan-i-Khas between the General and Hodson, as I continued writing at my own table for some time after Hodson began talking. Having occasion to speak to the General, I went up to him and found him engaged with Hodson upon the guarantee question. The latter urged him to grant the King's life, and after considerable hesitation the General appeared with reluctance to give his consent. I did not join in the conversation for obvious reasons.

There was no one with the General during Hodson's interview. In fact, there was no one in the verandah except myself, and I was at my own table, which was, as you may remember, at some distance from the General's.

I have often heard the General talk of the guarantee matter, but I have never heard him place any portion of the responsibility of the measure on you. I am aware, however, that Mr. Greathed was always prepared to give the guarantee, and

that he had communicated his views to the General, who finally acted upon them.

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270. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Offg. Commissioner, Delhi,—No. 85 B., dated 13th January 1858.*

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 3,* dated 2nd instant, and to state that a copy of it and its annexures has been forwarded to the Supreme Government as requested.

*Enclosure (1) to 269 (page 333).

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271. *From R. SIMSON, Esquire, Offg. Under-Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, K. C. B., Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 474, dated Fort William, 31st December 1857.*

Orders regarding the treatment of the members of the Royal family of Delhi.

I AM directed by the Governor-General in Council to transmit, for your information, the enclosed copies of two letters to the address of the Officiating Commissioner of Dehli, dated 24th instant, Nos. 458 and 458 A., relative to the treatment of the members of the Royal family of Dehli.

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 271.

From G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Offg. Commissioner, Delhie,—No. 458, dated Fort William, 24th December 1857.

ALTHOUGH no reply has as yet reached the Government to the letter addressed to you on the 20th ultimo, No. 355,† res-

†Enclosure (1) to 259 (page 301).

Orders regarding the treatment of the members of the Royal family of Delhi.

pecting the treatment of members of the Royal family of Delhie, the enclosed paragraph* from the "Lahore Chronicle" has come under the notice of the Governor-General in Council.

2. It in some sort indicates the mode in which the prisoners of the King's family are dealt with by the officers of Government; and I am to inform you that the Governor-General in Council desires that there may be an immediate change in this respect.

3. The Governor-General in Council does not desire that any hardship or indignity should be put upon the prisoners further than may be unavoidable in securing their safe custody; but he does desire that no honor whatever should be shown to any of them. Whatever may have been the intention of the act, the fact that the King's son is allowed to ride on an elephant with one of the British officers of highest rank at Delhie will be understood, and naturally understood, as at least a proof that the captivity in which the family are held is an honorable one.

4. This is not the view which the Governor-General in Council takes of it, and His Lordship in Council requests that nothing may be done to countenance such an opinion in the minds of natives or others. It will not be difficult to provide air and exercise for the prisoners without placing any of them in such a position as has been given to Jewan Bukht.

5. The information upon which this letter is founded being taken from an unauthenticated letter in the public prints, I am directed to do no more than give this general instruction, which you will communicate to all officers, Civil and Military, who may be brought in contact with the prisoners of the King's family.

6. Any further opinion which the Governor-General in Council may have to express on this subject will be reserved until the answer to my letter already referred to is received.

*Not traceable in the Punjab records.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 271.

From G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Offg. Commissioner, Delhi,—No. 458 A., dated Fort William, 24th December 1857.

Alleged lenient treatment of Mirza Jawan Bakht.

WITH reference to, and in continuation of, my separate letter No. 458 of this date, respecting the treatment of members of the Royal family of Delhi, I am directed by the Governor-General in Council to call your attention to the orders of Government dated 20th June last, in which it was enjoined that the King and such of the family as might be taken should be kept in close custody.

2. It would appear from the letter of Colonel Hogge, published in the "Lahore Chronicle" of the ——, that, so far from keeping the members of the Royal family in close custody, you suggested to Colonel Hogge that he might take Juwan Bukht, a son of the King, occasionally for an airing. This act so directly contravenes both the letter and the spirit of the order above quoted that I am desired by the Governor-General in Council to call on you for a full explanation.

ENCLOSURE (3) TO 271.

Extract from the "Lahore Chronicle."

Colonel Hogge's explanation.—Colonel Hogge has sent the following statement for publication :—

"Although I do not notice statements made by anonymous correspondents in newspapers, yet, as you have given my name in one of the editorials of your paper of the 14th November as one of the officers who had been seen riding with one of the sons of the King on an elephant through the streets of Delhi, I send you for publication the following statement of the facts, leaving the truth of your charge of lacqueying the King's son

Alleged lenient treatment of Mirza Jawan Bakht.

about the streets of Delhi to the judgment of your readers, especially of those who know me :—

"Having been asked to accompany the Commissioner on a visit to the King, I went along with several officers, one of them holding high official rank in the army, to the house where he was confined. Before leaving, Jumma Bukht, a son of the King, apparently a lad of 15 or 16 years of age, asked the Commissioner if he might be permitted to go out occasionally for an airing along with any gentleman who would take him, and as I was in the habit of going out every evening on an elephant, the Commissioner asked if I should mind occasionally calling for him. I replied 'that if there were no other objections I would do so'; and, as both the Commissioner and the officers before alluded to appeared to think there could be none, I consented to call for him, and accordingly on two occasions I took Jumma Bukht out; the first time having nothing but a pad on the elephant, and being rather afraid that he might try and escape, I put him in front to prevent him slipping off, the second time having a 'charjamah' I sat in front, though I must say I considered it a matter of very little moment which seat I occupied.

"As to parading through the streets of the city, the first time I went out through the Cashmere Gate to 'Ludlow Castle' and home when it was quite dusk through the Lahore Gate and Chandnee Chowk; the second time I passed up the Chandnee Chowk, and returned by the Lall Kooa Street, having been induced to go there by Jumma Bukht expressing a wish to show me the house he lived in.

"Without entering into the question of his guilt or innocence, but presuming that, if guilty, he would never have been allowed to accompany a British officer in public, I can only say that I found him a very intelligent lad; he gave me a good deal of information about the mutineers, their leaders, and their plans, and had I remained longer at Delhi should probably have taken him out oftener, but having returned to Meerut on the 26th October I had no further opportunity."

272. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General,—No. 89, dated 5th February 1858.*

Alleged lenient treatment of Mirza Jawan Bakht. Explanation of Mr. C. B. Saunders.

WITH reference to your letter No. 474,* dated 31st December last, I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to forward, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General, copies of a letter No. 31, dated 26th ultimo, and its enclosure, from the Officiating Commissioner of Delhi, relative to the treatment of the members of the Royal family.

*271 (page 345).

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 272.

From C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Offg. Commissioner, Delhee, to Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 31, dated Palace, Delhee, 26th January 1858.

IN continuation of my former letters on the subject, I have the honor to annex, for the information of the Chief Commissioner, a copy of a further correspondence as per margin which has taken place relative to the treatment of the captive members of the Royal family of Delhee between the Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department and myself.

From Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 458, dated 24th December 1857, with enclosures,—Enclosure (1) to 271 (page 345).

From Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 458 A., dated 24th December 1857,—Enclosure (2) to 271 (page 347).

To Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 2, dated 26th January 1858, in reply to the above,—Enclosure (2) to 272 (page 350).

2. Should the Chief Commissioner consider it advisable, I would beg to suggest that a copy of my reply may be forwarded to Calcutta *viâ* Bombay, as, although the communication between this and Calcutta is now open, small parties of insurgents may at any time while crossing the country to Oudh or elsewhere waylay and destroy the letter bags.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 272.

From C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Offg. Commissioner and Agent, Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces, Delhi, to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 2, dated Palace, Delhi, 26th January 1858.

Alleged lenient treatment of Mirza Jawan Bakht. Explanation of Mr. C. B. Saunders.

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letters Nos. 458 and 458 A., dated the 24th of December 1857, relative to the treatment of the captive members of the Royal family of Delhi, and calling upon me to submit a full explanation with reference to Colonel Hogge having been allowed to take Mirza Jawan Bukht out occasionally for an airing, such act directly contravening the orders of Government dated 20th June last, in which it was expressly directed that the King and such of his family as might be taken prisoners should be kept in close custody.

2. In reply, I would beg to state that I have already in my letter No. 1,* dated 2nd of December 1857, to your address, supplied a full explanation of the circumstances above referred to. It would appear, however, that prior to your addressing the two letters under acknowledgment to me my explanation had not (owing to the interruption of the dak communication with Calcutta existing in the early part of December) reached its destination. As, however, copies of the document were also transmitted *viâ* Bombay by the Governments of the North-Western Provinces and of the Punjab, I have little doubt that it has by this time been laid before the Governor-General in Council.

*Enclosure (2) to 262 (page 309).

3. In that letter I expressly stated that the orders of Government of the 20th June to the best of my belief never reached my predecessor, the late Mr. Hervey Greathed, and moreover that "until the receipt of a duplicate copy of instructions from Agra in the month of October, neither I nor any other person in camp was aware that such an order had been issued."

4. The two or three occasions on which Jawan Bukht was taken out by Colonel Hogge for an airing and by myself for a special object were towards the close of September and during the early part of October. Under these circumstances I think it will be readily admitted that it was not intentionally or wilfully that, in contravention of the Government order above referred to, I permitted Jawan Bukht on the above occasions to leave the otherwise close confinement in which he was kept, inasmuch as I was not at the time aware of the existence of any such order.

Alleged lenient treatment of Mirza Jawan Bakht. Explanation of Mr. C. B. Saunders.

5. I have in my former letters expressed my regret at having permitted Jawan Bukht to be taken out on the three or four occasions which I have specified either by Colonel Hogge or by myself. Had I known the temper of the public and the newspaper press at the time better, I would not have done so, but I deny that in allowing him to go out either for an airing or for a special purpose I had any intention whatever of showing him honor. In the one case I considered that by placing him in charge of an officer of Colonel Hogge's high character and reputation I was entrusting him to one in whose custody he was perfectly secure, and in the other I felt that he could not be in the keeping of any one whose combined interest and duty it would be to look after his safe keeping more strictly and zealously than myself.

6. Two or three of the elder Princes who had been caught at Hamayoon's Tomb and made over to the custody of some Seikh soldiers by the officer in command had been allowed by their custodians to effect their escape, and have up to the present time remained at large. I therefore considered it advisable that Mirza Jawan Bukht, if allowed to go out at all either for exercise or for any other purpose, should be accompanied by a British officer as the best guarantee for his security; and I thought he was less likely to effect his escape from the back of an elephant than any other mode of conveyance.

7. Rightly or wrongly, I looked upon Jawan Bukht then as I do now in the light of a mere youth, and one who had not

Alleged lenient treatment of Mirza Jawan Bakht. Explanation of Mr. C. B. Saunders.

personally embrued his hands in the blood of our countrymen or taken any part in the war. I have before given my grounds in detail for this opinion, and I still believe it to be a correct one; I have never attributed his not having taken an active part in the rebellion to any better feeling than that which actuated the other members of the family, nor have I ever given him credit for possessing more humanity or greater attachment to the British than his race in general, but believe that he was entirely thrown into the background by his elder brethren, who at once gained more or less personal influence with the mutineers. It is believed that the King and his mother Zeenut Mahal at the very first commencement of the outbreak were anxious to instal him in the Wazirat or office of Prime Minister, but without success. Under these circumstances I did not consider that it would be deemed absolutely necessary that he should be kept in such strict confinement as to be entirely debarred all out-of-door exercise and relaxation.

8. I remembered that the Seikh Chieftains Chuttur Singh and Sher Singh, Attarewala, the leaders in the last Seikh Campaign, who were sent down in strict confinement as State prisoners to Calcutta, were allowed by the Most Noble the Governor-General to go out daily for an airing in a carriage attended by a European, and I was of opinion that a similar practice in the present instance would not have been forbidden.

9. The chief, and in fact the only, reason why Jawan Bukht was allowed to go out for an airing upon the elephant was to elicit information from him regarding the war. In a demi-official letter which I received from Sir John Lawrence dated the 24th of September, four days after the surrender of the King, occurs the following passage:—"Try and get out of the King, now that he is alarmed, all that you can. Tell him that much will depend upon his making a clean breast." In compliance with these instructions I endeavoured to elicit from the King and his more loquacious consort, the Begum Zeenut Mahal, all the information I could obtain from them; but I found it very difficult to gather anything of value from their conversation, their chief object evidently being to avoid crimi-

nating themselves and at the same time to endeavour as little as possible to inculpate others. With Jawan Bukht the case was different; in the presence of his parents he was perfectly taciturn on all subjects on which we desired to obtain information. He, however, gave us to understand that if he were allowed to go out for an airing, he would tell us anything we wished to know. He kept his word, and a great deal of useful and important information was elicited from him on subjects bearing upon the mutiny, the conduct of the war, and the complicity of the Native Chiefs in the rebellion.

Alleged lenient treatment of Mirza Jawan Bakht. Explanation of Mr. C. B. Saunders.

10. I have now given, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, in my present letter and in my previous communication of the 2nd of December 1857, a full and I trust satisfactory explanation of the circumstances under which I permitted Mirza Jawan Bukht to be taken out for an airing upon an elephant during the first three or four weeks after the fall of Delhi. Since that time he has been kept in perfectly strict confinement with his parents.

11. No honors were ever shown to him or to any other member of his family, and it certainly never struck me at the time, or I believe any of the officers consulted on the occasion, when Colonel Hogge obtained my permission to take Jawan Bukht out for an airing, that any distinction was likely to be conferred upon him thereby in the eyes of the natives while perambulating the desolate streets of Delhi, deserted by almost every living being except a few stray cats in a state of starvation, the dead bodies of our enemies, and here and there a guard of our victorious troops.

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273. *From R. Temple, Esquire, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to the Offg. Commissioner, Delhi,—No. 123 A., dated Delhi, 9th March 1858.*

I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to draw your attention to this office letter No. 793* of the 3rd December last,

*261 (page 306).

Delay of Lieutenant Hodson in replying regarding the several guarantees given by him.

and to enquire whether the information therein called for in regard to the several guarantees given by Lieutenant Hodson is likely to be furnished at an early date.

2. It is of much importance in respect to such of the individuals as are in prison awaiting trial that this information should be furnished without delay, and if it has not already been received, the Chief Commissioner would deem it necessary to address the Commander-in-Chief on the subject.

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274. *From C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Offg. Commissioner, Delhee, to R. TEMPLE, Esquire, C. S., Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 76, dated Camp Delhee, 11th March 1858.*

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter No. 123 A., dated 9th instant, enquiring whether the information required by your letter No. 793,* dated 3rd December 1857, relative to the several guarantees given by Major Hodson, is likely to be furnished at an early date.

*261 (page 306).

In reply, I beg to inform you that no answer has as yet been received to my communication on the subject which, as desired, I addressed to Major-General Penny requesting him to call upon Major Hodson to state under what circumstances and on what authority he guaranteed the lives of the King of Delhi and of his son Jumma Bukht, as well as of Ahmed Kuli Khan, the father of Begam Zeenut Mahal, of Hamid Ali Khan, or of any other individual.

I have again addressed Major-General Penny on the subject, but it is by no means improbable that some time will elapse before a reply can be received, as both Major-General Penny and Major Hodson are absent on service, the former in the neighbourhood of Alygurh and the latter at Lucknow.

275. *From G. F. Edmonstone, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General, to Sir John Lawrence, Bart., G. C. B., Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 4979, dated Allahabad, 4th December 1858.*

Exoneration of local officers at Delhi from the imputations of delay and leniency in dealing with offenders.

With reference to your Secretary's letter No. 82,* dated the 12th December 1857, I am directed by the Governor-General to transmit, for your information, the accompanying copy of a letter this day addressed to Mr. C. B. Saunders.

*262 (page 306).

2. The Governor-General is of opinion that your Secretary's letter above cited contains a complete refutation of the imputations that appeared in the "Friend of India" of 19th November 1857 of delay on the part of the local officers at Delhi in the prosecution of offenders, and of undue leniency in dealing with them.

Enclosure to 275.

From G. F. Edmonstone, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General, to C. B. Saunders, Esquire, Commissioner of the Delhi Division,—No. 4978, dated Allahabad, 4th December 1858.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your several letters noted in the margin.

1. No. 1, dated 2nd December 1857,—Enclosure (2) to 262 (page 309).
2. No. 2, dated 31st December 1857,—Enclosure (4) to 269 (page 335).
3. No. 2, dated 26th January 1858,—Enclosure (2) to 272 (page 350).

2. These papers, I am directed to inform you, were allowed to lie over for some time in the expectation that, as intimated in paragraph 6 of the letter from the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, No. 82,† dated 12th December 1857, further explanation as to the guarantee given of their lives to others of the Delhi Royal family than the ex-King himself might be received from Captain Hodson. Subsequently, Captain Hodson's death, no less than Sir A. Wilson's departure from the country, and considerations connected with that

†262 (page 306).

Conclusion of Government that Captain Hodson was not empowered to guarantee the lives of certain members of the Delhi Royal family.

officer's difficult position at Delhi at the time when the life of the ex-King was guaranteed, made it both invidious and unnecessary to discuss the question of responsibility for the guarantee.

3. The same considerations are still operative, and the Governor-General, without offering to decide the point in question, deems it sufficient to record his opinion that Captain Hodson had no authority from Sir A. Wilson for guaranteeing the life of Zeenut Mahal, of her son Juwan Bukht, and her father, Ahmad Koolee Khan.

Exoneration of Mr. C. B. Saunders.

4. The Governor-General is of opinion that you have shown that you had no share whatever in guaranteeing either the life of the ex-King or the lives of his wife Zeenut Mahal, her son and her father, above named, and that you are in no way responsible for the act.

Exoneration of Mr. Saunders from the imputation of having desired to do honour to Mirza Jawan Bakht.

5. I am desired to add that the explanations which you have submitted in your letters Nos. 1 and 2, dated respectively the 2nd December 1857 and the 26th January 1858, of the circumstances commented on by the "Friend of India" in the issue of 19th November 1857 exonerate you from the imputation of having desired to do honor to Juwan Bukht, and are considered by the Governor-General, as you anticipate, to be satisfactory.

276. *From R. TEMPLE, Esquire, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire Commissioner and Superintendent, Delhie,—No. 981, dated 21st December 1858.*

Communication of order to Mr. Saunders.

WITH reference to Lieutenant Paske's letter No. 82 B.* of the 12th December 1857, I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to forward to you the annexed copy of a letter No. 4979 of the 4th instant from the Secretary to the Government of India exonerating the local officers at Delhie from the imputations made against them of delay and leniency in dealing with offenders.

*263 (page 327).

CHAPTER X.

Trial of the Shahzadas and the ex-King of Delhi and of the Chiefs in the neighbourhood of Delhi implicated in the rebellion, and their punishment—Minute recorded by Sir John Lawrence on the proceedings relating to the trial of the ex-King of Delhi—Despatch submitting the proceedings to the Government of India with an expression of the views of Sir John Lawrence as to the causes and origin of the mutiny and rebellion—Removal of the ex-King and members of his family from Delhi.

277. *Telegram from Major-General WILSON, Delhi, to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore,—dated Delhi, 28th September 1857.*

IT is 2 P. M. Three of the King's sons, Mirza Jumma Bukht, Bukhtawur Shah and Mirza Mendoo, were sent in last night from Humayoon's Tomb by Brigadier Showers, Commanding a column sent out in that direction. More of the King's relatives will probably be sent in. Shall I appoint a Military Commission to try all such prisoners? Mr. Saunders advocates delay until more full evidence can be brought against them.

Capture of three of the King's sons.

Constitution of a tribunal for the trial of the prisoners.

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278. *Telegram from the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore, to General WILSON, Delhi,—dated 28th September 1857.*

IT is now 7½ P. M. I would recommend the trial, and on conviction the punishment of the Shahzadas. I do not see that anything is to be gained by delay.

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279. *Telegram from C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Offg. Commissioner, Delhi, to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore.*

IT is 7 A. M. of the 29th September. General Wilson proposes to send back Her Majesty's 52nd to the Punjab. It will be a good opportunity to deport the King of Delhi, and to send him under safe-conduct to Govindgurh, where he is not

Proposed deportation of the King of Delhi to Govindgarh.

Trial of the King and Shahzadas.

likely to have much sympathy shown him, or to become again a focus for intrigue and rebellion. Do you wish him to be tried by a Military Commission *pro formâ*, for his life has been guaranteed to him? The evidence which can be adduced against him will be conclusive to the share he took in the insurrection, for there are numerous documents found with orders endorsed upon them in his own handwriting. Mirzas Mendoo, Bukhtawur Shah and Jumma Bukht have been apprehended; the latter is a mere boy, the son of Zeenut Mahal and the King, and nothing can be proved against him. The other two I propose to send before a Military Commission when I have been able to collect sufficient evidence regarding their complicity. Mirza Koore Shah and Abdoolla were also apprehended by the column under Brigadier Showers, but by some mismanagement were allowed to escape.

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280. *Telegram from Major-General* WILSON, *Delhi, to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore,—dated Delhi, 29th September 1857.*

Proposed despatch of the King, his wife and son to Govindgarh.

IT is 8 o'clock A.M. Received yours of the 26th last night. I will send you back a Queen's Regiment, either the 52nd or 61st. Mr. Saunders suggests that, with your sanction, the King of Delhi, his wife, Zeenut Mahal, and his son, Mirza Jumma Bukht, should be escorted to the Fort of Govindghur by this regiment. Send me your orders on this subject, and if you wish the King to be tried by a Military Commission previously to his departure from this.

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281. *Telegram from the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to the Commissioner, Delhi,—dated Lahore, 30th September 1857.*

Opinion of Sir John Lawrence as to the trial of the Shahzadas.

IT is very sad Shahzadas being allowed to escape. If we go on in this way there will be a general outcry. I think those now in custody should be tried and disposed of. Mirza Jawan Bukht is I hear 18 or 19. He was married some years ago. If so, I think he should be tried also. He is an insurgent and rebel. Delay is only productive of evil. Example is wanted. If we don't punish now, we shall never do it. As regards the King I will write by post.

282. *Telegram from C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Delhi viâ Lursowlee, to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore,—dated 7th October 1857, 3 P.M.*

Enquiry by Mr. C. B. Saunders regarding the trial of the ex-King, and the disposal of the Shahzadas tried but not yet sentenced.

GENERAL WILSON, I believe, applied for your instructions with regard to subjecting the ex-King to a trial before a Military Commission. I have never ascertained your final views on the subject. The life of the King was, by Captain Hodson, under the General's sanction, guaranteed to him. I am decidedly of opinion that he should be brought before a Military Commission, or Court of Enquiry, and that the evidence to prove his guilt should be recorded against him, and his case finally submitted for the orders of Government, it being clearly understood that his life is not to depend on the issue of the trial. I have collected ample proof, both oral and documentary, against him. The two Princes whose trial was completed yesterday, but whose sentence has not yet been made known, took up as their line of defence that they had merely acted by his orders, under compulsion. As I cannot doubt that they have been condemned to death, would you recommend that they should be respited for a brief period, to give evidence on the King's trial, or do you consider that their evidence, as against their own father, would be inadmissible or unnecessary.

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283. *Telegram from Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, Chief Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore, to the Commissioner, Delhi,—dated 8th October 1857.*

Orders of Sir John Lawrence.

IT is now 9 A.M. I have just received your message regarding the ex-King. By all means try him by a Commission and have an opinion recorded of his guilt or innocence. But pass no sentence. I intended in my message of the 25th September to convey this opinion.

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284. *Telegram from Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, Chief Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore, to the Commissioner, Delhi,—dated 8th October 1857.*

I FORGOT to say this morning that I would not call on the Shahzadas to give evidence against their father; nor delay the execution of whatever sentence be passed on them.

285. *Telegram from C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Delhi, to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore.*

Execution of two Shahzadas at Delhi.

IT is 6 P. M., 12th October 1857. The two Princes, Mirza Bakhtawar and Mehndoo, have been condemned to *death* by being shot. Their execution will take place to-morrow morning outside the city.

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286. *Extract paragraph 10 of letter No. 70,* dated the 15th October 1857, from the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to the Government of India, Foreign Department.*

*209 (page 157).

10. Two Shahzadas have been seized at Delhie. They were tried, found guilty of rebellion, and shot yesterday morning. The execution of such men will strike terror, and produce a salutary fear through the Mahomedan population.

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287. *Extract from telegram from Offg. Commissioner, Delhi, to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore,—dated 20th October 1857.*

Instructions of Government regarding the disposal of the King of Delhi.

IT is 9 A.M., 20th October. The following from the Foreign Secretary to Government has been transmitted by Captain Bruce, Cawnpore, on the 12th instant to General Wilson, Commanding at Delhi:—"Calcutta, 10th October 1857. * * * * If, as has been reported to Governor-General in Council, the King of Delhi has received from any British officer a promise that his life will be spared, you are desired to send him to Allahabad under an escort as soon as this can safely be done. The escort must be strong enough to resist all attempt at rescue, and must consist in part of European Infantry and Cavalry with some field guns. Any member of the King's family who is included in the promise is to be sent with the King. You will appoint one or two officers specially to take charge of the King, who is to be exposed to

no indignity or needless hardship. If no promise of his life has been given to the King, he is to be brought to trial under Act XIV of 1857. The special Commissioners appointed for this purpose are Mr. Montgomery, Judicial Commissioner of the Punjab, Mr. G. C. Barnes, Commissioner of the Cis-Sutlej, and Major Lake, Commissioner of the Trans-Sutlej States. Summon these officers at once to Delhi. In event of a trial of the King taking place Mr. C. B. Saunders will act as prosecutor, will collect the evidence and frame the charges. Should the King be found guilty the sentence is to be carried out without further reference to the Governor-General in Council. In the event of the King being brought to trial, the Commissioners must allow him a week or other reasonable period to prepare his defence and to select some person to conduct it. On his failure to do so, the Commissioners will appoint British officers to conduct the King's defence. Instructions to this effect, together with the requisite Commission under the signature of the Governor-General in Council, will be sent to Cawnpore for transmission by kossid to the Commissioner at Delhi. You are requested to inform the Governor-General in Council as expeditiously as possible whether any promises have been made to the King that his life will be spared. Signed H. Bruce." With reference to the above what are your instructions relative to bringing the King before a Commission as before arranged?

Trial of the King of Delhi.

Application of Mr. C. B. Saunders for instructions.

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288. *Extract paragraph 1 of telegram dated Lahore, 21st October 1857, from Sir* John Lawrence, *Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to the Commissioner, Delhi.*

I have received your message of the 20th. The King's life having been guaranteed there can be no object in sending down the three officers named by Government of India and I can ill spare their services at present.

Orders of Sir John Lawrence.

Note.—The preceding telegrams have appeared as enclosures to 198 (pages 108 and 109), 204 (pages 134 and 135), 209 (page 173), 212 (page 187) and 214 (page 195). They are reprinted for facility of reference.

289. *From C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Offg. Commissioner and Agent to Lieutenant-Governor, N.-W. P., Delhi, to the Military Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 54, dated Delhi, 25th November 1857.*

Charges proved against Hakim Abdul Haq and Nawab Muhammad Hassan Khan and their execution.

I HAVE the honor to forward, for the information of the Chief Commissioner, memos. of the charges brought and proved against Hakeem Abdool Huk and Nawab Mahomed Hussun Khan, who have in consequence, by my order, suffered the extreme penalty of the law.

Memorandum.

HAKEEM MAHOMED ABDOOL HUK, son of Mahomed Hussun Buksh, inhabitant of Dehli, formerly Agent of the Raja of Balubgurh, on the breaking out of the mutiny, became an Aide-de-Camp to the King, entertained and kept up a force of some 400 men, Cavalry and Infantry, and sent them out to engage our army. Ten or twelve of these were killed and wounded, and amongst them a relative of his, a Jemadar named Akbar Ali, died of his wounds.

Hakeem Abdool Huk regularly attended also the King's Court, was one of the Committee of Finance appointed by the King to raise funds for the war, and had the charge of the district of Goorgaon conferred upon him.

Memorandum.

NAWAB MAHOMED HUSSUN KHAN, son of Irtiza Khan, a pensioner of Government on Company's Rs. 200 per mensem, became Mukhtar or Confidential Agent of Mirza Kizer Sultan, one of the greatest rebels among the Princes, and was employed also by Mirza Moghul and took a prominent part in the rebellion.

He was in command of a portion of the rebel army at the battle of the Hindun and the action at Badlie Serai.

He was arrested in the Nawab of Jhujjur's territory in the company of Hukeem Abdul Huk and Ahmud Kuli Khan.

290. *From C. B. Saunders, Esquire, Offg. Commissioner and Agent, Lieutenant-Governor, N.-W. P., Delhie, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 56, dated Delhie, 27th November 1857.*

I have the honor to annex, for the information of the Chief Commissioner, copies of my letters Nos. 19 and 20 to Major-General Penny, Commanding the Field Force at Delhie, relative to the proposed trial before a Military Commission of the following State prisoners: the ex-King of Delhie, the Nawabs of Jhujjur, Dadree and Feroknugger, and the Raja of Bullubgurh.

Trial of the ex-King of Delhi and other State prisoners.

Enclosure (1) to 290.

From C. B. Saunders, Esquire, Offg. Commissioner and Agent, Lieutenant-Governor, N.-W. P., Delhie, to Major-General N. Penny, C. B., Commanding Delhie Field Force, Delhie,—No. 19, dated Delhie, 26th November 1857.

I have the honor, under instructions from the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, to inform you that it has been considered desirable, as well for the satisfaction of Government as for that of the public, to bring the ex-King of Delhie to trial before a Military Commission, in order that his guilt or innocence in the late rebellion and its attendant atrocities may be at once established.

Arrangements for the trial of the ex-King of Delhi by a Military Commission.

2. I have at the same time to inform you that the life of the ex-King having been guaranteed to him by Captain Hodson, acting under instructions from Major-General Wilson, it will not be in the competency of the Military Commission to pass any sentence on him even should a conviction be the result of their enquiries.

3. I have the honor to forward such documentary evidence in reference to this case as I have been able to obtain, and shall be at all times ready to give you any assistance in my power in furthering the object in view by procuring the attendance of witnesses, &c.

4. I have had the vernacular documents very carefully translated by Mr. James Murphy, Deputy Collector of Customs at Delhie, who is an excellent linguist, and can, if you approve, place his services at your disposal for employment as an interpreter.

5. No charges have as yet been framed against the ex-King, and I beg to suggest that this may be done by the Deputy Judge Advocate-General of the Division, who will perhaps conduct the prosecution before a court especially selected by you for so important an occasion.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 290.

From C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Offg. Commissioner and Agent, Lieutenant-Governor, N.-W. P., Delhie, to Major-General N. PENNY, C. B., Commanding Delhie Field Force, Delhie,—No. 20, dated Delhie, 26th November 1857.

Arrangements for the trial of the Nawabs of Jhajjar, Dádri and Farukhnagar and the Raja of Ballabgarh.

I HAVE the honor, in continuation of my letter No. 19 of this day's date, to inform you that it is desirable to bring before a Military Commission the Nawabs of Jhujjur, Dadree and Feroknugger, and the Raja of Bullubgurh, to stand their trial for their complicity in the late rebellion. I would therefore beg to suggest that the Military Commission selected for the purpose of investigating the guilt or innocence of the King of Delhie may also be empowered by you to try the above Chieftains and with full authority to pass sentence upon them in the event of their conviction.

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291. *Telegram from Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, K. C. B., Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to Major-General PENNY and Commissioner, Delhy,—dated 1st December 1857.*

Opinion of Sir John Lawrence regarding the trial of the King of Delhi.

I DO not think it would be expedient to prepare any specific charges against the King of Delhy on which to try him. I would propose that the Commission be at liberty to hear and place on record all evidence bearing against the King and connected with the late insurrection. This is simply for record. He is not being tried for his life.

292. *From C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, C. S., Offg. Commissioner and Agent, Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces, Delhi, to Major-General N. PENNY, C. B., Commanding Delhi Field Force,—No. 22, dated Delhi, 1st December 1857.*

Arrangements for the trial of the King of Delhi.

IN continuation of my letter No. 19* and dated November 26th, I have the honor, with reference to the enclosed copy of a telegraph message from the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, to request that you will consider the suggestion contained in the concluding portion of my former letter as far as regards the Deputy Judge Advocate-General being instructed to frame charges against the King cancelled. The Select Military Commission will sit as a Court of Enquiry to hear and place on record all evidence bearing against the King and connected with the late insurrection.

*Enclosure (1) to 290 (page 363).

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293. *Telegram from Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to Major-General PENNY, C. B., Delhi,—dated 6th December 1857.*

I HAVE received your letter† of the 3rd. I would certainly allow the King to defend himself and examine witnesses. In this way the truth will be elicited. What I meant in my former message on this subject was with a view of not confining the enquiry to any particular charges, but that the Commission should have the power, at their discretion, of hearing and recording all criminatory matter which might be produced. More by post.

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294. *Extract paragraphs 3 and 6 of a letter No. 79, dated the 10th December 1857, from Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, Calcutta.*

Execution of offenders at Delhi and of the Nawab of Ránia and his son in Hariána.

3. The prosecution of the worst characters in the insurrection progresses satisfactorily at Delhie. Abdool Huq and Nawab Mahomed Hussun Khan have been hanged, and many other offenders have suffered the same penalty. The Nawab of Raneea and his son have both been also hanged in Hurrianah.

†Not traceable in the Punjab records.

Instructions for the trial of the King of Delhi.

6. The Chief Commissioner trusts that the instructions* he has issued regarding the trial of the King of Delhie will be approved. As the man's life has been guaranteed, the object of the enquiry is simply to place on record the part he played in the insurrection.

*Telegrams dated 1st and 6th December 1857 to Major-General Penny,—291 and 293 (pages 364 and 365).

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295. *From C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, C. S., Offg. Commissioner of Delhee, to Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 6, dated Palace, Delhee, 5th January 1858.*

Proposed trial of the ex-King of Delhi on specific charges.

I HAVE the honor to append, for the information of the Chief Commissioner, a copy of a letter No. 1 this day addressed by me to Major-General N. Penny, C. B., Commanding the Delhee Field Force, in reply to a demi-official communication from that officer forwarding, for the expression of my opinion, a strong recommendation from the Judge Advocate-General that the approaching investigation into the complicity of the ex-King of Delhee in the late rebellion, by a Military Commission convened for the purpose, should assume the form of a direct trial, and I trust that under the circumstances the Chief Commissioner will approve of my having taken upon myself the responsibility of acquiescing in the views entertained by the Military authorities in order to prevent further delay, although those views are not altogether in accordance with his recorded opinion.

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 295.

From Major FRED. J. HARRIOTT, Judge Advocate-General, to Major-General N. PENNY, C. B., Commanding Meerut Division, Delhee,—dated Delhee, 5th January 1858.

I HAVE the honor to report for your information that, having finished the trial of the Raja of Bullubgurh, I am prepared now to enter on such investigation as may be deemed requisite in reference to the complicity of the ex-King of Delhee in the late rebellion, &c.

2. To render such investigation satisfactory it is in my opinion necessary that it should assume the form of a direct trial, *viz.*, that charges should be framed and the ex-King be called upon to plead to them.

Proposed trial of the ex-King of Delhi on specific charges.

3. I do not perceive how under other circumstances any result can be arrived at as to the ex-King's guilt or innocence that will not be open to the objection of being one-sided and unjust.

4. If a verdict be sought on any point that may come under investigation, it is surely desirable that both sides of the case should be heard and equally considered. Such a verdict, whether one of conviction or acquittal, will have the stamp of authority and stand a final and decisive record either in favor of or against the prisoner.

5. I beg then to suggest that this course be adopted as the only means of coming to a conclusion satisfactory to the Court, the prisoner and the public. Should I obtain your concurrence for so doing, I will at once draw up charges on which the ex-King can be arraigned and proceed on his trial with the forms usual in such cases. Awaiting your instructions.

I HEREBY concur in the opinions expressed by the Deputy Judge Advocate-General.

N. PENNY, MAJOR-GENERAL,
Commanding Delhee Field Force.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 295.

From C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Offg. Commissioner of Delhee, to Major-General N. PENNY, C. B., Commanding Field Force, Delhee,—No. 1, dated Palace, Delhee, 5th January 1858.

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your demi-official letter of this date forwarding to me, for perusal and for the expression of my opinion, a letter to your address from Major Harriott, the Deputy Judge Advocate-General.

Concurrence of Mr. C. B. Saunders.

2. As that officer has set forth the inexpediency of entering into an investigation into the complicity of the ex-King

Proposed trial of the ex-King of Delhi on specific charges. Concurrence of Mr. C. B. Saunders.

in the late rebellion unless it were to assume the form of a direct trial, and has recorded his opinion that unless charges are framed against the prisoner to which he may be called on to plead, any result which may be arrived at will be open to the objection of being one-sided and unjust, and as you have recorded your full concurrence in the above opinion, I do not feel prepared to offer any opposition to the views expressed by authorities so much better qualified to decide on questions relating to the forms of procedure which it is advisable to adopt in investigations or trials held before a Military Commission. Those views are, you may remember, in strict accordance with the suggestion contained in my letter No. 19,* dated 26th November 1857, as to the *modus operandi* which I recommended for adoption at the trial.

*Enclosure (1) to 290 (page 363).

3. Subsequently, however, I communicated to you in my letter No. 22† of the 1st December a copy of a telegraph message from the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab setting forth his opinion that it was inexpedient that any specific charge should be preferred against the King on which to try him.

†292 (page 365).

4. Had I been aware of the probability of any direct protest being entered against the above views of the Chief Commissioner, I would have taken measures to have laid the subject once more before Sir John Lawrence for final instructions.

5. I do not, however, consider it advisable to delay any further the opening of the trial, as the members of the Court are now assembled at Delhee and considerable inconvenience would be entailed by having to refer the matter to the Chief Commissioner at Mooltan or to the Supreme Government at Calcutta; and I am therefore prepared to take the responsibility of requesting you to issue such orders as you may deem advisable to the Deputy Judge Advocate with reference to the framing of charges against the ex-King and the mode of conducting the trial, being confident that Sir John Lawrence will readily acquiesce in the views taken by the Military authorities.

296. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Offg. Commissioner, Delhee,—dated 15th January 1858.*

Proposed trial of the ex-King of Delhi on specific charges. Orders of Sir John Lawrence.

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 6* of the 5th instant, reporting that you had acquiesced in the views of the Military authorities that the ex-King of Delhy should be tried on specific charges.

*295 (page 367).

2. The Chief Commissioner will leave the matter in your hands, the more especially as he does not see that anything will now be gained by his interference. At the same time I am to add that he cannot himself perceive the force of the objections of the Judge Advocate-General. The advantages which the Chief Commissioner anticipated from a general enquiry were that it would leave the Court free to receive or reject such evidence as they might think fit. In this way valuable information might be obtained, which under the course now adopted might be rejected as irrelevant to the specific points at issue. The Chief Commissioner can see no valid reason why the ex-King could not have defended himself as effectually in the one case as the other. The fact is, however, that the object of the enquiry is really rather with the view of elucidating important facts connected with the rebellion than to determine the precise nature and extent of the ex-King's complicity. From the moment that his life was guaranteed there ceased, in the Chief Commissioner's judgment, to be any advantage in bringing him individually to trial. His complicity in the rebellion was open and notorious, and under no circumstances could he ever obtain his liberty or be restored to his former status.

3. The object which the Chief Commissioner had in view when issuing in the first instance the instructions connected with this trial, having now been lost sight of, he can only hope that you will lay before the Court every document of importance connected in any way with the ex-King's conduct during the rebellion. All weighty circumstances explanatory of the origin and progress of the rebellion should also be placed on record.

297. *Extract paragraph 5 of a despatch No. 364,* dated Fort William, 30th November 1857, from G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab (received 18th January 1858).*

*232 (page 260).

Orders of Government regarding the trial of the Chiefs in custody at Delhi.

5. With reference to paragraph 11 of your letter (No. 76, dated the 2nd November 1857), I am directed by the Governor-General in Council to refer you to my letter dated the 20th instant, No. 357, and its enclosure, directing that all the Chiefs in custody be brought to trial and dealt with according to law, and to request that the orders in question be carried out forthwith.

298. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 86, dated Lahore, 20th January 1858.*

Report of measures taken.

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner to acknowledge the receipt this day of your *duplicate* despatch No. 364 of the 30th November last, and to observe that your letter No. 357† of the 20th idem, therein referred to, has not been received; but I am to state, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, that the course indicated by Government has been and is being pursued in respect to the revolted Chiefs who have been seized. The Nawab of Jhujjur and the Raja of Bullubgurh have been tried, sentenced and hanged, and others are undergoing trial.

†A copy has been obtained and printed at 259 (page 301).

299. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, C. S., Offg. Commissioner, Delhy,—No. 86 A., dated Lahore, 20th January 1858.*

WITH reference to the annexed extract paragraph 5 of a letter from Government, No. 364, dated 30th November last, I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to request that you will furnish a brief statement showing what Chiefs of the Delhy territory have been seized for participation in the rebellion, and how they have been disposed of. Any who may still be pending trial should be speedily arraigned.

2. The letter No. 357 of the 20th November referred to by Mr. Edmonstone has not yet been received.

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300. *Extract paragraph 3 of a letter No. 151, dated the 12th January 1858 (received 20th January 1858), from R. SIMSON, Esquire, Offg. Under-Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, K. C. B., Chief Commissioner, Punjab.*

The instructions you have issued for the trial of the King of Delhi are approved by the Governor-General in Council.

Manner of trial of the ex-King of Delhi.

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301. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Offg. Commissioner, Delhie,—No. 39, dated 26th January 1858.*

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner to forward, for your information, the annexed extracts from his letter No. 79* of the 11th December last and from the Government reply, No. 151,† dated 12th instant, with a copy of the two telegraphic messages‡ of the 1st and 6th ultimo sent to General Penny regarding the manner in which the ex-King of Delhie should be tried.

*294 (page 365).
†300.
‡291 and 293 (pages 364 and 365).

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302. *From C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, C. S., Offg. Commissioner, Delhee, to Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 21, dated Palace, Delhee, 19th January 1858.*

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter§ in the Secret Department without number, dated 15th January 1858, communicating to me the views of the Chief Commissioner relative to the trial of the ex-King of Delhee on specific charges, as recommended by the Deputy Judge Advocate-General.

Circumstances under which Mr. Saunders agreed to the trial of the ex-King of Delhi on specific charges.

§296 (page 369).

2. I had originally been led to suppose that the Military authorities had acquiesced in the view taken by the Chief Commissioner, and were prepared to conduct the investigation in accordance therewith, as a political enquiry rather than a trial.

Circumstances under which Mr. Saunders agreed to the trial of the ex-King of Delhi on specific charges.

3. On the conclusion of the trials of the Jhujjur Nawab and of the Bullubgarh Raja, the Deputy Judge Advocate expressed his intention of proceeding at once with the King's trial, and the Court consisting of five selected officers, two of whom belong to the Meerut Force, was again convened for the purpose.

4. Two days before the trial was to commence, the Deputy Judge Advocate addressed a letter to General Penny, setting forth in strong terms his opinion that specific charges to which the King could be called upon to plead should be preferred against him. The General accorded his concurrence in the above views, and the letter was forwarded to me with a request that I would also append my acquiescence on the back of the letter.

5. I refused to do so, as I did not think that it would be becoming on my part, after the General had recorded his opinion, to append my approval or disapproval of the views entertained by him, as it might bear, however unintentionally, the appearance of an authoritative confirmation or rejection of his opinion.

6. It was under these circumstances, and because I was aware that had I come to any other decision the commencement of the trial would have been further delayed for a considerable time to the great inconvenience of the members of the Commission and also to the detriment of the public interests, that I determined to take upon myself the responsibility of conceding the point to the Military authorities rather than delay the trial. A copy of my letter communicating this concession on my part was forwarded to you.

7. Had I then been aware that the trial was likely to be delayed from other causes, I should certainly have abstained from according my acquiescence in the proposed alteration of the form of trial without having first obtained the Chief Commissioner's instructions in the matter.

8. The Deputy Judge Advocate, however, immediately framed certain charges against the King, which, having been translated by the interpreter, were forwarded for the ex-King's perusal.

9. From that day the ex-King has been more or less ill, suffering from fever and other diseases attendant on extreme old age. The Civil Surgeon and his own professional adviser, Hakeem Ahsunollah, have been in daily attendance upon him, the latter prescribing for him. The Civil Surgeon has certified that the ex-King is totally unfit to be moved or to stand his trial, and during the last two or three days his debility and other symptoms have so far increased as to make it probable that he will not rally again from his bed of sickness.

Illness of the ex-King and postponement of his trial.

10. Under these circumstances I do not think that it will very much matter what particular form of trial may be proposed for adoption in his case. At the same time, from his utter inability to stand his trial at an early date, there will be ample time for the Chief Commissioner to communicate his final orders in the case before the Court are again convened together to enter upon the investigation.

Publication of charges against the ex-King in the newspapers by the Deputy Judge Advocate.

11. I regret, however, to say that the Deputy Judge Advocate has considerably increased the difficulty which might have been felt in again altering the form of trial, by forwarding to the different newspapers in Upper India copies of the charges which he had drawn up for the trial, and to which the ex-King was to be called upon to plead. Any departure therefore from the form of trial upon specific charges which may be determined upon will have more or less the effect of somewhat stultifying that officer and others concerned in the proceeding in the eyes of the world.

12. I may, however, state that both the General and the Deputy Judge Advocate as well as myself are perfectly prepared to carry out fully and readily any instructions which the Chief Commissioner may think it right to furnish us with.

13. It may be as well, however, for me to observe that it has never been the intention of the local authorities to confine the investigation to the limits prescribed by the charges which have been framed against the prisoner. On the contrary, it has always been intended that every document discovered in the palace of any importance bearing directly or indirectly upon the conduct of the rebellion, whether implicating the King or not,

should be brought forward, and that the investigation should bear the form of a political enquiry into the causes which led to the insurrection and mutiny of the Native Army as well as into the complicity of the King and of the members of his family, who were summarily disposed of on our acquiring possession of the city.

14. I append, for the information of the Chief Commissioner, a copy of the written address which had been prepared by the Deputy Judge Advocate to lay before the Commission, which clearly shows that that officer had no intention to confine the scope of the investigation to the mere *limits of* the specific charges preferred against the ex-King.

ENCLOSURE TO 302.

Judge Advocate's Address.

Draft address by the Deputy Judge Advocate to the members of the Court for the trial of the ex-King.

GENTLEMEN,—Before proceeding further in this case it may be necessary to mention that evidence will be submitted to you which may not bear strictly on the charges that have just been perused. It is desired that all the circumstances connected with the late rebellion, even though not in direct relation to the indictment, may be here appropriately recorded; indeed, up to a late date, it had been decided that, as the King's life had been guaranteed, this investigation should not be accompanied by charges at all, or even assume the form of a trial, but should embrace all such matters as the discovered correspondence and other reliable sources of information might indicate. I know not whether the Court would under such circumstances, *viz.*, the absence of specific accusations, have been called upon to record an opinion, but feeling that any investigation in reference to the prisoner must be more satisfactory if he himself were a party to it and had the opportunity of refuting by documentary or other testimony such allegations as might appear to his detriment, I suggested that it would be better to have these in a specific and tangible shape, so that on such points guilt or innocence might be clearly established. This has been acceded to, and hence the charges that I have just had the honor of perusing; but it must be clearly understood that the scope of the investigation is not in any way

confined to these limits, nor should it be impeded by the observance of technicalities such as belong to a more formal and to a regular trial.

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303. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Offg. Commissioner, Delhie,—dated 28th January 1858.*

Trial of the ex-King of Delhi on specific charges. Orders of Sir John Lawrence.

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 21* of the 19th instant, with annexure, being in reply to my letter of the 15th instant, communicating the views of the Chief Commissioner relative to the trial of the ex-King of Delhie on specific charges.

*302 (page 371).

2. The Chief Commissioner considers that under the circumstances you have reported it will perhaps be better to postpone the trial until the ex-King either dies or recovers. If he should die, the charges will naturally drop and a mere political enquiry be made. If he should recover, the trial can proceed.

Disapproval of publication of charges in newspapers.

3. The Chief Commissioner thinks it is to be regretted that the charges in this case should have been published.

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304. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General, Allahabad,—No. 86 A., dated 30th January 1858.*

Communication of correspondence to the Government of India.

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner to submit, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, a transcript of the correspondence marginally noted† relating to the trial of the ex-King of Delhie.

Letter from Offg. Commissioner, Delhi, No. 6, dated 5th January 1858, with enclosures.
Reply dated 15th January.
From Offg. Commissioner, Delhi, No. 21, dated 19th January 1858, with enclosure.
Reply dated 28th January 1858.

†*Vide* 295 (page 366), 296 (page 369), 302 (page 371), and 303.

305. *From Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General,—No. 88, dated Lahore, 3rd February 1858.*

Trial and punishment of the Chiefs in the neighbourhood of Delhi seized for treason.

IN continuation of my letter No. 86* of the 20th ultimo, I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to forward, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General, the annexed copy of a letter No. 33, dated 27th idem, from the Officiating Commissioner of Delhie, showing briefly the manner in which the Chiefs of the neighbourhood of Delhie have been disposed of when found guilty of treason and rebellion.

*298 (page 370).

ENCLOSURE TO 305.

From C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Offg. Commissioner, Delhee, to Lieutenant E. H. PASKE, Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 33, dated Palace, Delhee, 27th January 1858.

IN reply to your letter No. 86 A.,† dated the 20th January 1858, I have the honor, in accordance with the directions of the Chief Commissioner, to furnish the following brief statement showing which of the Chiefs of the Delhee territory have been seized for participation in the rebellion and how they have been disposed of.

†299 (page 370).

Execution of the Nawab of Jhajjar;

2. *Abdool Rahman Khan, Nawab of Jhujjur,* was brought before a Military Commission presided over by Brigadier Chamberlain, C. B., on the 8th of December 1857, was convicted of the charges brought against him on the 17th December, and sentenced to be executed, which sentence was carried out on the evening of the 23rd December 1857.

the Raja of Ballabgarh;

Nahur Singh, Raja of Bullubgurh, was arraigned before the same Military Commission on the 19th December 1857, found guilty, and likewise condemned to death by hanging on the 2nd January 1858, which sentence was carried into execution on the evening of the 9th January 1858.

and the Nawab of Farukhnagar.

Ahmud Ali Khan, Nawab of Furrucknugger, was brought before a Military Commission, presided over by Brigadier Showers, on the 12th January, was similarly convicted of the

charges of rebellion and treason preferred against him, and sentenced on the 22nd January to be hung. His execution took place on the evening of the 23rd of January current.

Nawab of Dádri awaiting trial.

Bahadur Jung Khan, Nawab of Dadree, is the only remaining Chief in custody. Charges have been preferred against him, and his trial before a Military Commission will commence as soon as the King's trial has been completed. This Commission, consisting of five selected officers of high standing, with Colonel Dawes of the Horse Artillery as President, will form the tribunal before whom the Dadree Nawab will be arraigned.

Commencement of trial of the ex-King of Delhi.

3. The ex-King, having been reported by the Civil Surgeon convalescent, has this day been brought before the Military Commission under trial upon the charges which were preferred against him by the Deputy Judge Advocate.

Detention of Nawabs Amin-ud-din and Zia-ud-din of Lohâru under surveillance.

4. The Nawabs Ameen-ood-deen and Zeea-ood-deen of Loharoo are at present in the palace under surveillance, but nothing has yet being elicited against them to warrant their being placed in custody and brought to trial. Nawab Ameen-ood-deen was always looked upon by the local officers as an adherent of the English. As a boy he was brought up and educated by Lady Colebrooke, and has always more or less affected English society and manners. When the English Troops arrived before Delhee, he entered into correspondence with Sir Theophilus Metcalfe in camp and on more than one occasion sent him important information. His brother, Zeea-ood-deen, was never so well thought of, but nothing has been elicited against either of the brothers except that on a few occasions they attended the King's Durbars.

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306. *From G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General, to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 12, dated Camp Allahabad, 11th February 1858.*

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Officiating Secretary's letter dated the 30th ultimo, No. 86 A.,* forwarding a copy of a correspondence relating to the trial of the ex-King of Delhi.

*304 (page 375).

Orders of Government regarding the form of the trial of the ex-King of Delhi.

2. In reply, I am directed by the Governor-General to observe that the difference discussed in the papers submitted appears to be one rather of form than substance. His Lordship sees no objection to the framing of the specific charges against the King, provided that these are not admitted by the Court as a reason for rejecting all evidence not directly relevant to them. If the intention expressed in Mr. Saunders' letter dated the 19th ultimo, No. 21,* to the address of your Officiating Secretary, of not confining the investigation to the limits prescribed in the charges, and of bringing forward all documents or other evidence of importance bearing upon the rebellion, and whether implicating the King or not, is fully carried out by the Commission, the chief end will be attained.

*302 (page 371).

Condemnation of action of Captain Harriott, Deputy Judge Advocate-General, in publishing the charges against the ex-King in the newspapers.

3. But as regards the publishing of the charges by the Judge Advocate-General, who is stated to have sent them himself to the newspapers, I am desired to state that Captain Harriott has unwarrantably exceeded his duty, and has so laid himself open to censure. Copy of this correspondence will be sent to the Military Department with a request that the animadversions of the Governor-General may be communicated to Captain Harriott, and that he may be desired henceforward to address the reports of his proceedings to his official superiors alone, not to the public prints.

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307. *From G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General, to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 79, dated Camp Allahabad, 16th February 1858.*

Orders for the release of the Nawabs of Lohárú if their loyalty is established.

HAVING laid before the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General your letter No. 88,† dated 3rd instant, relative to the manner in which the Chiefs of the neighbourhood of Delhi have been disposed of when found guilty of treason and rebellion, I am directed in reply to request that, if on your approaching visit to Delhi you should be satisfied that there is nothing to raise suspicion of the loyalty of the Nawabs of Loharoo, either or both, you will take steps to relieve them from surveillance.

†305 (page 376).



MAHAMMAD BAHADUR SHAH, EX KING OF DELHI.

(FROM A MINIATURE IN THE CENTRAL MUSEUM LAHORE.)

Photogravure. Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, September 1908.

308. *From C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Offg. Commissioner, Delhi, to R. TEMPLE, Esquire, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 132, dated Delhi, 12th April 1858.*

Submission by Mr. C. B. Saunders, Offg. Commissioner, Delhi, of the papers connected with the trial of the ex-King of Delhi

I HAVE the honor to submit, for the perusal of the Chief Commissioner and for submission to the Supreme Government, the whole of the papers connected with the trial of Mahumud Behadur Shah, ex-King of Delhi, which have been forwarded to me by Major Harriott, the Deputy Judge Advocate-General, who conducted the prosecution of the prisoner upon the part of Government.

2. The Military Commission before which the prisoner was arraigned, presided over by Lieutenant-Colonel M. Dawes of the Bengal Horse Artillery, has recorded its opinion that the prisoner Mahumud Behadur Shah, ex-King of Dehli, is guilty of all and every part of the charges preferred against him,—a verdict which has been approved and confirmed by Major-General N. Penny, C. B., Commanding the Meerut Division.

3. The instructions upon which the Court was convened as communicated in my letter No. 19, dated the 26th of November 1857, to Major-General Penny, C. B. (a copy of which for facility of reference is annexed), precluded the Court from passing any sentence upon the prisoner notwithstanding that a verdict of guilty should be the result of its enquiries. The life of the prisoner having been guaranteed to him by his gallant captor, the late Major Hodson, acting under instructions from Major-General Sir Archdale Wilson, Bart., K. C. B., Commanding the Delhi Field Force, and it being consequently impossible to inflict upon the offender, in the event of his conviction, the only punishment which could be held to be at all commensurate with the crimes with which he was charged, it was considered desirable to limit the competency of the Military Commission before which he was arraigned to a simple verdict of guilty or not guilty, and to leave it to the Supreme Government to pass whatever sentence may be deemed advisable in his case.

4. It appears to me to be unnecessary for me to offer any lengthened remarks in submitting these proceedings for

the final orders of superior authority, as they speak most eloquently and convincingly for themselves.

5. I trust that the conduct of the case will meet with the approval of the Government. The whole of the records found in the palace, or in the camp of the rebel army, and all the numerous vernacular documents of a seditious character which fell into my hands after the final occupation of the city by our troops, have been carefully collated and examined, and those which directly or indirectly bore upon the conduct of the rebellion, whether implicating the King or not, as well as those which bore his autograph order or signature, have been recorded among the proceedings, and will be found to disclose many points of interest and importance. The oral testimony of many who were themselves eye witnesses of the atrocities which took place in Delhi at the commencement of the insurrection, and of others who took—as servants or retainers of the prisoner—a more or less prominent part in his counsels, has been recorded; but the number of the latter class is of course limited, for the great majority of such have either paid the penalty of their crimes, have joined the insurgents in Oudh, or are skulking as fugitives and outcasts over the face of the land.

6. No technicalities have been allowed to impede the course of investigation. Every point which was deemed likely to throw light upon the origin and cause of the insurrection and of the mutiny of the Native Army has been carefully enquired into and probed to its source, and the field of enquiry has been by no means confined to the limits prescribed by the charges upon which the prisoner was arraigned.

Testimony to the services of Major Harriott, Deputy Judge Advocate-General, and of Mr. Jas. Murphy, Collector of Customs, who acted as Translator.

7. I cannot conclude this letter without bearing testimony to the high merits and attainments of the two officers who were more directly charged with the conduct of the case, and who have performed their task with marked ability and the most untiring industry, *viz.*, the Deputy Judge Advocate-General, Major Harriott, and Mr. Jas. Murphy, Collector of Customs at Delhi, who was employed as Translator and Interpreter throughout the trial. It will be my pleasing duty on another occasion to bring prominently to the notice of the

Government the services rendered by these officers, but it would ill become me were I to allow the present opportunity to pass without recording the opinion which I, in common with all who have attended this trial, entertain of the talent and ability which has marked the conduct of the prosecution by Major Harriott. The summing up of the case by that officer cannot, I am sure, be read by any one without the deepest interest, and although all the conclusions which have been drawn by that officer, however logical and sound, may not meet with universal concurrence, I am convinced that they will provide a rich store of materials for reflection, and may prove hereafter highly useful as offering beacons to the Mariner of the State to mark the shoals upon which the bark has been lately so nearly shipwrecked.

8. The high attainments of Mr. Murphy as an accomplished Translator and skilful Interpreter both on this and the other State trials which have preceded it have been most conspicuous, and I would beg to refer, in confirmation of the fact, to the very high encomium which has been passed upon him by the Deputy Judge Advocate at the conclusion of his summing up.

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309. *Minute by Sir* JOHN LAWRENCE *on the proceedings relating to the trial of the ex-King of Delhy,—dated 19th April 1858.*

Minute by Sir John Lawrence on the proceedings relating to the trial of the ex-King of Delhi.

I HAVE carefully examined the evidence in the trial of the ex-King of Delhy, and after testing it by all the information which I have obtained since the first outbreak, as well as by my personal knowledge of the prisoner's character and that of the Mahomedan population of the city, I fully concur with the Court in convicting him on the various charges on which he was arraigned.

Such being my deliberate judgment, I strongly recommend that the ex-King be transported beyond Seas as a felon. He should be sent to some island where he will be perfectly isolated from other Mahomedans. His wife Zeenut Mahal and his son Juwan Bukht might have the option of accompanying him, or of being confined as State prisoners in the Lower Provinces.

Minute by Sir John Lawrence—*continued.*

I do not however consider that there is satisfactory evidence to show that the ex-King was connected with a conspiracy, previous to the 10th of May 1857, to induce a mutiny in the Bengal Native Army. Indeed, it is my decided impression that that mutiny had its origin in the Army itself, and was simply taken advantage of by disaffected persons in the country to compass their own ends. It is, moreover, my belief that the cartridge question was the immediate cause of the mutiny. I have examined many hundreds of letters from Native soldiers and Civilians, and have conversed with natives of all classes on the subject, and am satisfied that the general, I might almost add that the universal, opinion in this part of India is such as I have above stated.

2. There can be no reasonable doubt but that the Native Army has for some years been in an unsatisfactory state. Owing to the remarkable reticence of natives when cross-questioned on subjects which they fear to reveal, it is extremely difficult to ascertain their real views. Still an attentive observer, who has had opportunities of studying their character, may gather from their remarks and conduct what are their real feelings and opinions.

3. The fact that the mutiny broke out at Merutt, where none of the new cartridges had been used, and that the mutineers were joined by the Native Regiments at Delhy under similar circumstances, or that the mutineers subsequently even used these cartridges against our troops during the siege of Delhy, are not in my mind by any means conclusive evidence against my conclusions. In the first place I would observe that the Native Army as a body fully believed that the introduction of the cartridge was a mere matter of time. They had heard that such would be the case; that sepoys had been punished even by death for refusing to accept and use these cartridges, and therefore concluded that the only chance of escape was to band together and refuse to take them. The fires at the different stations were evidently meant as a warning to their officers and to Government of the state of their feelings on this subject. In all the letters which I examined, in the minds of

all the natives I cross-questioned, in all the conversations which were reported by our spies in Delhy, this is the one circumstance which forces itself on my conviction.

Minute by Sir John Lawrence—*continued.*

4. It is, I believe, quite true that the mutineers of the 3rd Light Cavalry sentenced to imprisonment at Merutt had never been asked to use the new cartridge. But it is also, I believe, true that the paper in which these cartridges were enveloped was of a color different from that hitherto used; and it can be readily understood by those conversant with natives how readily that circumstance might have been misinterpreted by those whose minds had been previously worked up to believe that an attempt to injure them in a matter of so much importance as that of caste and religion was in contemplation. I have no doubt, however, that many of the native soldiers, perhaps in some regiments the majority, were misled by their more designing comrades.

5. As regards the statement that the insurgents and mutineers inside Delhy used this very cartridge against our loyal troops, it appears to me somewhat doubtful if such were really the case. But admitting that it was, it may easily be conceived why the mutineers thus acted as danger became more imminent. Besides, it should be borne in mind that they could have used the cartridge without biting it or they might have had them re-made without that which they thought was pollution in them.

6. What was more natural than that the discontented seepoys should have worked on the minds of their more guileless comrades and have persuaded them that a systematic and sinister attempt was about to be made on their religion which consists in forms and ceremonies? Brigadier-General Chamberlain and I had a very interesting and important conversation with a Poorbeah, a Jemadar in the 3rd Punjab Infantry, lately at Ambala. This man, a Bhoojpooreah Rajpoot, was on furlough near Ghazeepoor when the mutiny broke out. He and his two brothers joined an English gentleman, an indigo planter, and during seven months was on several occasions of great use. This Jemadar was on his way to rejoin his regiment when we saw

Minute by Sir John Lawrence—*continued.*

him. Holding a certificate of his good services, he still seemed doubtful of his reception. After much enquiry and lengthened cross-examination, during which he only by degrees described what he had seen and knew, he affirmed that there was a general belief among all the Poorbeah soldiers that it was the settled determination of the English to destroy their caste and their religion. So strong was this, he observed, that "often when I talked with the relations and friends of seepoys and endeavoured to combat their views, I ended with almost believing that they were right. Then again when I talk to you and hear what you say, I see how foolish were such ideas." He told us that the English officers little knew how strong the impression had become; that upwards of five years ago this impression had existed, and nearly brought on an émeute; that it was supposed that all the serais, burdasht khanas and other conveniences which Government have constructed on the main roads for the comfort of travellers had been devised with the object of destroying their caste; and that before long food would be prepared in them which the people would be forced to buy and eat.

7. Little doubt can exist that these and similar stories were concocted by individuals who had ulterior designs. It is also true that many of the letters of Mahomedans breathed a fierce spirit of fanaticism and ferocity against the English Rulers of Hindostan. But unless an ill-feeling had existed in the Native Army generally the attempts of such people would have proved utterly powerless. My own impression indeed is that the first excitement, the first feelings of disaffection began among the Hindoo soldiery, among the high caste men, the Brahmins and Hindoos of the Line Regiments, whether Cavalry or Infantry, and that it subsequently spread among the Mahomedans of these regiments. When once mutiny was in the hearts and minds of the Hindoos, it is probable that the feeling was fanned and inflamed by the Mahomedans. That which was in the first instance a mere desire to resist an infringement of their religion speedily extended into a great political movement.

Minute by Sir John Lawrence—*continued.*

8. The well-known Munshee Mohun Lal stated that some of the troopers of the 3rd Cavalry had told him that when they broke out at Merutt they had scarcely left the cantonment when they held a council of war as to the course they should pursue. The general voice at first was for seeking refuge in Rohilkhund. But one of them pointed out that Delhy was their proper point; that there were the magazines and treasury, there strong fortifications, a large city population, the King, and last but not least no European soldiers.

This account was corroborated by extensive and minute enquiries made after the fall of Delhy by Brigadier-General Chamberlain. Again, we know from Mr. Ford, the Magistrate of Gurgaon, the district which adjoins Delhy, that a large party of these troopers actually fled through Delhy into the Gurgaon District the very next day after their arrival. Mr. Ford actually seized 10 of them and about 20 of the Government horses of the party.

9. It is very possible, indeed probable, that the Native soldiers of the regiments of Infantry at Delhy were so far in the scheme that they had engaged to stand by their comrades at Merutt. Such indeed was the case all over the Bengal Presidency. The men consisted of a common brotherhood, with feelings, prejudices, hopes in common, and whether they had actually engaged to stand by each other or not, all well knew that as a body such would prove the case.

10. My own impression is also that in the first instance the Hindostanee Irregular Cavalry had not joined in the combination. The majority of the men are not connected with those of the Regular Army. They come for the most part from a different part of Hindostan, *viz.*, from the districts within a circle of perhaps a hundred miles of Delhy. Except on the common bond of Mahomedanism these irregular troopers have little in common with the soldiers of the Line Regiments. In all the letters which I examined at the outset of the disturbance I recollect nothing which implicated the Irregular Cavalry. The misconduct of the 10th at Nowshera is the only exception, and it is doubtless a grave one.

Minute by Sir John Lawrence—*continued.*

11. On the other hand, no sooner had the mutineers seized Delhy and raised the bad characters of that city, and by their aid destroyed all the Christians, seized the magazines and treasure, and made themselves masters of the fortified city, the case was altogether changed. The King's sons, his troops and his courtiers all joined in the cause, and eventually the King himself consented to head the movement. If there was indeed a conspiracy in the country, and that conspiracy extended to the Army, how can it be reasonably explained, why none of those who have adhered to our cause were acquainted with the circumstance? However small may be the number of our adherents when compared with those that took part against us, the actual number of the former is considerable. Many of these men remained true under all trials; others again died fighting on our side. None of these people can speak of a conspiracy in the first instance; none again of the conspirators who expiated their guilt by the forfeit of their lives ever made any such confession that I am aware of, though such confession would doubtless have saved their lives. None of the papers or documents which I have seen lead to such an impression.

12. The Judge Advocate-General lays much stress on the alleged overtures to Persia, and we have reason to know that intrigues between the two Courts of Persia and Delhy did take place during the Persian War. But had the Shah really intended to give the ex-King any aid, had he even believed that a violent attempt would be made to subvert the power of England in India, is it reasonable to suppose that the Shah would have made peace and freed our troops locked up in that country? Again, had the Shah really been cognizant of such an attempt, would he not have sent his emissaries to Peshawur and into the Punjab? Had he done so, we should certainly have seen some marks of these intrigues. But such was not the case. The loss of Delhy and the insurrection of the King and the Mahomedan population shewed the Mahomedans in Hindostan that the time had arrived when they might again strike for Empire with the prospect of success. Our power

Minute by Sir John Lawrence—*continued.*

was paralysed. Our means were small, and those means were not so placed as to be easily brought to bear against the insurgents. The European Force at Merutt did nothing. No attempt was even made to secure the public treasure at outstations. The temptation to plunder these treasuries was too great for the virtue of our best disposed Native Troops. I cannot myself understand how any man acquainted with India can fail to see that the mutiny and insurrection unless trampled out in the blood of the soldiers who first revolted must spread like wildfire. In the present case, we know that not only no punishment followed, but that great wealth was acquired by each corps as it mutinied.

13. Had there been a general conspiracy in the country, or even in the Army as unconnected with the cartridge question, how is it that the people and soldiers did not rise simultaneously in insurrection? I am told that the time fixed for it was anticipated by the Merutt outbreak. But if such were the case, how came it then that the news of that outbreak was not followed by immediate insurrection? No preparation was necessary. But nothing of the kind occurred. It was only when the Native Troops saw how powerless we were that they resolved to convert what was a mere combination against what they fancied to be gross oppression into a struggle for empire.

14. I have said that I believe that the Army had become ill-affected. I think that such was really the case. But it was a sense of their strength and our weakness, combined with the great temptations which our system placed before them, that encouraged them to revolt. As regiment after regiment fell away, the difficulties of resisting the contagion increased. I have every inducement to speak well of the Punjab Troops. It would be difficult in my opinion to speak too highly of their services during the present war. They resisted great temptations and underwent severe trials. Nevertheless there was a time when it was a question what course they would adopt, and I believe fully that had not Delhy fallen soon after it actually did, their fidelity could scarcely have been proof against the example around them. I myself could not help foreseeing

Minute by Sir John Lawrence—*concluded.*

that a day might soon come when none but the English soldiers would have remained on our side. That such a day did not arrive, is alone due in my mind to the infinite mercy of the Almighty.

15. I have stated my views fully and freely on this subject. It can matter little to the wretched prisoner what we think of his crimes; but it is of the highest importance that we should understand the real circumstances which have led to the present crisis. Unless we do so, it is vain to hope that we shall profit by the experience of the past, and for the future avoid those errors which all but led to our ruin.

19th April 1858. J. LAWRENCE.

Addendum dated 21st April 1858.

Addendum to Minute by Sir John Lawrence.

I HAVE said that I believe that there was no general conspiracy in the country; and that where insurrection did occur, it followed, and did not precede, mutiny. The fact is that where British authority ceases, insurrection cannot fail to follow. The mutiny coerced the great body of the people into insurrection. Where again the mutineers were beaten and expelled, the country rapidly settled down into peace and security. Where also our officers were able to hold their own, there the country remained wholly or partially tranquil.

I know not what information Government may have obtained from other parts of India, but my conclusions are formed from the knowledge of what occurred in the country from the banks of the Jumna to the Solymani Range, that is within a tract of upwards of 100,000 square miles, full 20 millions of people (*sic*).

If indeed a conspiracy was formed in India, which led to the mutiny of the Native Army, how can we fairly account for the circumstance that no traces of it are to be found either among the correspondence of the seepoys or among those of Native Chiefs; or among the many public documents

Addendum to Minute by Sir John Lawrence—*continued.*

found in the palace of Delhy? The evidence of living witnesses may be discredited, though many of them are persons known to be on our side. But surely if a conspiracy had existed some traces would have been apparent in all the correspondence which has been obtained. Many people no doubt joined in the insurrection after the mutiny occurred. This, however, is very different from a conspiracy in the country which led to the revolt of the army. The fact is that at all times, and perhaps in all countries, and certainly in Asia, there exists a large body of discontented people, all hoping that a change will improve their condition. In India are many tribes of a predatory character, who before our rule lived by plunder and rapine. They were subdued more than half a century ago by our arms and our policy. But the characteristics of these races survive in their descendants. They cling to the traditions of their forefathers. They have longed for the days of misrule; for the good old times when "they shall take who have the power; and they shall keep who can." The present generation as a body had never seen a shot fired, and had become unwarlike. But when our power became eclipsed, and our prestige destroyed, the innate love of plunder revived, and the strong began to prey on the weak.

Fanaticism unrestrained by power became a strong element against us. Whatever may be the intrinsic merits of our rule, the people of India can never forget that we are a stranger race, alien in religion, in color, in habits, and in sympathies. On the other hand, from our pride, our self-reliance and feeling of superiority, we neglect the most ordinary precautions for our security. We cannot submit to the slightest restraints on our freedom of action, though our very safety depends on them.

The above is a fair description of the state of the Delhy territory, of the Gangetic Doab and of Rohilkhund. In Oude, however, a numerous and warlike population existed, long accustomed to arms, who had never felt the weight of our military power, and whose martial pride was fostered by armed resistance to their own rulers, the general insecurity of the

Addendum to Minute by Sir John Lawrence—*continued.*

country, and the large numbers which they furnished to our army.

When Oude was annexed to the British dominions we virtually attempted to hold the country by its own soldiers. In all Oude we had only one regiment of European Infantry and a few European Artillery, with no troops of the same class within reasonable distance. While we added considerably to our already overgrown Native Army, we had not perhaps ever, certainly not for many years, been so weak in European Troops. The complement of these regiments was not complete. We were two less than the proper number. Nor was this all. While the Native Regiments were carefully kept up at their full strength, the European Regiments were extremely weak. Some corps had received no drafts for two years. These and many other defects of our system were patent to the whole Native Army. They considered themselves in their language "our hands and feet"—the means whereby we had won all our victories. Our forts, our treasuries, our arsenals were all in their hands. From Delhy to Calcutta no obstacle, nothing capable of resistance, existed. Why then need we seek for foreign causes for the mutiny. It was a sense of power, working on men exasperated by fancied wrongs, which led the Native Army to mutiny.

While we neglected the commonest rules of military prudence, we did some things in Oude which had the effect of irritating the influential classes, while our tenure was too short to effectually strengthen the hands of those for whom we worked. When then the influential classes found out that the Native Army were discontented and ripe for revolt, they fanned the flame; and when the crisis arrived, they also rose, and added insurrection to mutiny. Could we have marched reliable troops instantly into Oude in sufficient numbers, we should even then have experienced little difficulty in beating down opposition. This we could not do, and months elapsed during which the power of our enemies consolidated; and those most friendly to our rule from sheer necessity were driven to join against us. The misfortunes and calamities which we experi-

enced in Cabul were renewed and aggravated in Hindostan. That the issue was not equally disastrous has arisen from the circumstance that the country was neither so strong, nor the people so formidable, nor our resources so distant. Above all because the Almighty Disposer of Events, though apparently determined to humble, had not resolved to destroy us. Many thoughtful and experienced men now in India believe that it has only been by a series of miracles that we have been saved from utter ruin. It is no exaggeration to affirm that in many instances the mutineers seemed to act as if a curse rested on their cause. Had a single leader of ability arisen among them, nay had they followed any other course than that they did pursue in many instances, we must have been lost beyond redemption. But this was not to be. It was a struggle of civilization against barbarism, of Christianity against Heathenism. In no other way can we account for our escape.

Addendum to Minute by Sir John Lawrence—*concluded.*

21st April 1858. J. LAWRENCE.

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310. *From R. TEMPLE, Esquire, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General,—No. 50, dated 29th April 1858.*

Despatch submitting the proceedings connected with the trial of the ex-King to the Government of India.

I AM now directed to forward, for submission to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General, the proceedings* and papers in the trial of Muhummud Behadur Shah, ex-King of Delhi. As a supplement to the above, I am also to transmit translation of evidence of Ahsunoollah Khan, late confidential physician of the ex-King, taken before the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner. It will be in the recollection of His Lordship that the physician's life was guaranteed on the condition of his answering satisfactorily such questions as might be put to him.

*Published in the form of Selections from the Government records. Reprinted by the Government of India in 1895.

2. The trial was commenced on the 27th January 1858 and was concluded on the 9th March 1858. The proceedings are very voluminous, and have only recently been received from

Description of evidence.

the General Commanding Meerut Division. The evidence relates not only to the specific charges on which the prisoner was arraigned, but also to the origin and character of the outbreak. And it lays bare the policy of the King's Government and the internal economy of the rebel army during the siege of Delhi. On the whole it is deeply interesting and instructive, whether viewed practically, politically or historically.

3. In brief terms, it may be said that the documentary evidence comprises the system on which the general government was conducted; the raising of loans; military arrangements; the communications with foreign powers and neighbouring Chiefs; the passages in the Native newspapers relating to the war between the English and the Persians. There are also of course many papers of a miscellaneous character. The oral evidence describes the occurrences of the outbreak and the sad circumstances connected with the massacre of the Christians in the palace; it also throws some light on the origin of the mutiny and the rebellion. The general effect of the evidence, documentary and oral, is to present to the mind a wonderfully vivid picture of all that happened at Delhi during the eventful months between the 12th May and 20th September 1857.

4. The papers referring to the system of the King's Government exhibit in a remarkable manner the active personal share which the King himself took in the conduct of affairs. However wrongly he had assumed his position, it must be admitted that his orders were not unworthy of the situation. He did make some effort to preserve order in the city, to repress rapine and murder in the villages, to check malversation, to restrain the excesses of the soldiery. But it is clear that from first to last he was unable to establish an administration either within or without the city. In the tracts nominally ruled by the King there was scarcely the semblance of authority; nor was there any protection for life or property. In but few cases did the King's agents succeed in collecting revenue from the districts. From its own records the Mogul

Description of evidence.

rule, while it lasted, seems to have been a reign of terror, and a period of intolerable anarchy to the people. Then the papers shew the financial straits to which the King was driven, and the numerous forced loans and other contributions exacted from the monied classes in Delhi. The military papers do not materially elucidate the plan of the operations. But they shew that the mutinous army was utterly insubordinate to the Government it had set up, and that its discipline was entirely relaxed. The papers comprising the correspondence with other Powers indicate the deputations despatched by the King of Delhi to the Shah of Persia, but they do not shew any actual connexion between these intrigues and the Bengal mutinies. Whether in the absence of any proof there is reason to infer such connexion will be considered presently. The correspondence with Indian Chiefs proves that the Chiefs round Delhi were in subjection to the King. But there is nothing to shew that any considerable number of Princes gave in their adhesion, nor that any Sovereign or powerful Prince intrigued with the King. The extracts from the Native newspapers at Delhi certainly breathe a hostile spirit to the British, and abound with absurd stories of the successes of the Persians in the war then waging, and their probable advance upon India.

5. The oral evidence goes far to show that while the troops at Delhi were prepared for the outbreak, and the palace retainers were in some measure ready for mischief, yet the King himself and his counsellors had not contemplated taking the lead in so serious a movement. Consequently when the mutineers first arrived, the King's conduct was most vacillating. He asked them why they had come to him, for he had no means of maintaining them. They replied that unless he joined them they could not make head against the English. He immediately yielded however; and by his subsequent behaviour he identified himself with the cause of the rebels and made their acts his own. As regards the massacre of 49 Christians within the palace walls, it is probable that the King himself was not a prime mover in that dreadful deed, and that if left to his own devices he would not have had the prisoners murdered. There

is little doubt that he could have saved them had he been so minded. It is quite certain that he made no effort to do so. And from his own subsequent letters it is clear that he was a consenting party to the murder.

Finding of the Court that the ex-King of Delhi is guilty of the charges preferred against him.

6. Upon all this evidence the Court have found the prisoner guilty of four charges which may be thus epitomized :—

1st.—Aiding and abetting the mutinies of the troops.

2nd.—Encouraging and assisting divers persons in waging war against the British Government.

3rd.—Assuming the sovereignty of Hindostan.

4th.—Causing and being accessory to the murder of the Christians.

Recommendation of Sir John Lawrence.

Concurring in the justice of the verdict, and considering the prisoner to have been guilty of these grave felonies, the Chief Commissioner has to recommend that the said prisoner shall be dealt with as a felon, regard only being had to the guarantee of his life which was granted to him at the time of his capture. And the Chief Commissioner has arrived at this deliberate opinion of the prisoner's guilt, after having carefully examined the evidence adduced at the trial and after having tested it by all the information which he has obtained since the commencement of the outbreak and by his personal knowledge of the character both of the prisoner and of the Mahomedan population of Delhi.

Opinion of Sir John Lawrence on the real causes and origin of the mutiny and rebellion.

7. After the above brief analysis of the proceedings in this most remarkable trial, I am now to submit the Chief Commissioner's opinion on the real causes and origin of the mutiny and rebellion. A right understanding of this matter is of the last importance to the future stability of the Empire.

8. In the first place it is to be observed that the prisoner was not charged with any offence previous to the 11th May 1857. Whatever may have been the King's participation in the events subsequent to that date, nothing has transpired on the trial or on any other occasion to show that he was en-

gaged in a *previous* conspiracy to excite a mutiny in the Bengal Army. Indeed, it is Sir John Lawrence's very decided impression that this mutiny had its origin in the Army itself; that it is not attributable to any external or antecedent conspiracy whatever, although it was afterwards taken advantage of by disaffected persons to compass their own ends; and that its proximate cause was the cartridge affair and nothing else. Sir John Lawrence has examined many hundreds of letters on this subject from natives, both soldiers and Civilians. He has, moreover, conversed constantly on the matter with natives of all classes; and he is satisfied that the general, and indeed almost the universal, opinion in this part of India is to the above effect.

Opinion of Sir John Lawrence on the real causes and origin of the mutiny and rebellion.

9. It may be true that discontented sepoys worked upon the minds of their less guileless comrades and persuaded them that a sinister but systematic attempt was about to be made on their ceremonial religion; and that in many regiments the majority were misled by designing individuals. But as a body the Native Army did really believe that the universal introduction of cartridges destructive of their caste was a matter only of time. They heard (and believed as they heard) that the measure had been resolved on, and that some sepoys had been punished even by death for refusing to use the objectionable cartridges. They thought therefore that their only chance of escape was to band together, to refuse the cartridges, and to resist if force should be attempted by the Government. And the incendiary fires at the different stations were intended by the sepoys as a warning to their officers and to their Government of the feelings which had taken possession of the Native Army. Such truly was the origin of the mutiny. And this, I am to repeat, is the one circumstance which has forced itself upon the Chief Commissioner's conviction in all that he has seen and heard; this is the one fact which stands out prominently in all the native letters which he has examined, in all the statements of the natives whom he has cross-questioned, and in all the conversation between the natives themselves which have been reported by our spies in Delhi and elsewhere.

Opinion of Sir John Lawrence on the real causes and origin of the mutiny and rebellion.

10. As against the above conclusion, it might perhaps be urged that the mutiny first broke out at Meerut, where the new cartridges had never been used. And it is no doubt true that the men of the 3rd Light Cavalry had never been asked to use the new cartridges, and were imprisoned for refusing cartridges of the old description, and perfectly unobjectionable. But the Chief Commissioner has always understood that the cartridges which these men did refuse happened to be enveloped in paper of a color different from that generally used before. And he believes that this unfortunate circumstance would account for the bitter mistrust which was excited in their minds. Indeed a similar circumstance produced the same effect upon the 19th Native Infantry and other regiments in Bengal. Any person conversant with native character can understand how easily such a thing might be misinterpreted by men whose imagination and feelings had been wrought up to the belief that an attempt was in contemplation to injure them in so vital a point as that of caste and religion. Again, it has been said that the sepoys after the mutiny fired off some of these impure cartridges against our loyal troops during the siege of Delhi. But it is very doubtful whether this really took place. If it did, however, still the men might have escaped the fancied pollution by refraining from biting the cartridges, or they might have had the cartridges re-made in a manner which would obviate the supposed impurity. Or the cartridges might have been used only when the mutineers were becoming desperate as their final defeat drew near. On the whole, the Chief Commissioner considers that neither of the above arguments is at all sufficient to weaken a conclusion so strong upon other grounds.

11. As an instance of the evidence which might be produced in favor of the above conclusions, I am to mention an important and interesting conversation which the Chief Commissioner and Brigadier-General Chamberlain recently held at Umballa with a Jemadar of the 3rd Punjab Native Infantry. This man, a Bhojpoorea Rajpoot by caste and a native of Hindostan, was at Ghazeepoor on furlough when the mutiny

broke out. He and his two brothers joined an English indigo planter, and during seven months were of great use to that gentleman on several occasions of difficulty and disturbance. He was on his way thence to rejoin his regiment in the Punjab when he met the Chief Commissioner's camp at Umballa. Though holding a certificate of his good conduct and services at Ghazeepoor, he still even at Umballa seemed doubtful of the reception he would meet with. He was reserved at first, and it was only during a lengthened examination that he by degrees described what he had heard and seen. In this conversation he affirmed that there was a general belief among the Hindostanee sepoys that the destruction of their caste and religion had been finally resolved on by the English. "So strong was this belief," he said, "that when I talked with the relations and friends of sepoys and endeavoured to combat their views I ended in almost believing that they were right. Then again when I talk to you and hear what you say, I see how foolish such ideas were." He added that the English officers little knew how strong this impression had become in the Native Army; that more than five years ago the belief had existed and had nearly brought on an émeute; that the caravanseraees for travellers and the supply depôts (seraees and burdasht khanas) erected by Government on the Grand Trunk Road were said to be devised with the object of destroying caste; and that before long impure kinds of food would be prepared in them which the people would be forced to buy and eat.

Opinion of Sir John Lawrence on the real causes and origin of the mutiny and rebellion.

12. Such was the prevalent belief in the Native Army before the outbreak. The first excitement, according to the Chief Commissioner's belief, the first feelings of disaffection arose among the high caste Hindoos, Brahmins and Rajpoots, of both the Infantry and the Cavalry. This disaffection then spread to the Mahomedans of the same regiments. With them also the feeling was at first a desire to resist the infringement of their caste and religion. Then, when they saw that the mutiny which had now settled deep in the minds and hearts of the Hindoos might be expanded into a political movement calculated to subserve Mussulman interests, they sedulously fanned

Opinion of Sir John Lawrence on the real causes and origin of the mutiny and rebellion.

the flame. But while thus the Hindoos and Mahomedans of the Line had united to mutiny, the Chief Commissioner's impression is that in the first instance the Hindostanee Irregular Cavalry did not join in the combination. While the Regular Army chiefly came from Oude and the districts surrounding it, the irregular troopers were drawn from the districts within a circle of a hundred miles round Delhi. They had, therefore, no personal connexion with the Line; and except the mutual bond of religion they had little or nothing in common even with the Mahomedans of the Regular Cavalry. In the many native letters which he examined at the outset of the disturbances the Chief Commissioner found nothing to implicate the Irregulars, though of course the misconduct of the 10th Irregular Regiment at Noushera is a grave exception to what has been said above in regard to this branch of the service. But of course when Delhi had been seized by the mutineers and when rebellion spread to the very districts whence the Irregulars came, then very many of them also joined the movement. From that time the Mahomedan soldiers and the Mahomedan population became more actively hostile than the Hindoos. This indeed it is easy to understand, fanaticism and ferocity being especially inculcated by the tenets of their religion.

13. But although stories against the British were fabricated and circulated by persons with ulterior designs; although individual intrigues were rife within and without the Army; though the Mahomedans very frequently breathed a spirit of fanatic ferocity against the British; yet all these influences could not have drawn our Native Army from its allegiance if it had not been already penetrated by that unfortunate belief about the cartridges. Nor would such an ill-feeling have so speedily arisen, nor would it have produced such a desperate disaffection, if the Army had not been in an unsound and unsatisfactory state for some years past. That this state of things actually existed can now be ascertained from the natives themselves. At the time it would have been extremely difficult to discover as much from them owing to their extraordinary reticence on matters which they fear to reveal. It is only by attentive observation, by study of their character and their

conduct, by the collating of their casual remarks, that their real opinions and feelings on such subjects can be discerned. It were needless to allude to the several causes which brought about this condition. There is however one essential and original cause which cannot be too prominently mentioned, nor too attentively considered. This cause was that the sepoys were imbued with a sense of their own strength and of our weakness, and that our system consequently placed in their way temptations which encouraged them to revolt. They were, as they themselves said in their own phrase, the right arm, the hands and feet, of the British Government. Their strength consisted in their great numbers ; in their unexampled power of combination from their being one vast brotherhood with common fatherland, language, religion, caste, and associations ; and their possession of most of our magazines, many of our forts, and all our treasuries ; while our weakness consisted in the paucity of European Troops. Moreover, while the Native Regiments were kept up to their full strength, while our already overgrown Native Army was being gradually increased, it so happened that we had not been so weak for many years past in European Troops as we were in 1857. Some regiments had been subtracted from our complement during the Russian War ; two regiments were in Persia. Those regiments we had were numerically weak. Some corps had not received any fresh drafts for two years. These and all the other weak points of our system were patent to a Native Army having many intelligent men in its ranks, employed promiscuously from Calcutta to Peshawur and consequently well acquainted with our military arrangements. In short, it was a sense of overwhelming power acting upon men exasperated by a fancied wrong that led the Bengal Army to mutiny. In the face of this grand motive cause for the mutiny existing in the Army, why need we look abroad for foreign causes.

Opinion of Sir John Lawrence on the real causes and origin of the mutiny and rebellion.

14. The real causes of the outbreak having thus been discussed, I am now to advert to certain circumstances which are sometimes said to be causes, but which in the Chief Commissioner's judgment were probably not so.

Belief of Sir John Lawrence that there was no conspiracy in the Army irrespective of the cartridge affair, and no really organized conspiracy even in respect of that.

15. In the first place, with reference to conspiracies which have been so frequently adduced as proximate causes of the outbreak, I am to state that in the Chief Commissioner's belief there was not any conspiracy in the Army irrespective of the cartridge affair, and no really organised conspiracy even in respect of that. The sepoys had corresponded in order to unite in refusing the cartridges; they had probably engaged to stand by one another in resistance to the supposed oppression; and being a fraternity with hopes, fears, prejudices, feelings, all in common, they all felt that such an engagement would be acted up to by the whole body. No doubt the course of affairs at Meerut precipitated the outbreak, and it is vain to speculate as to what could have been designed if that outbreak had been postponed. But it seems certain that no regular rising had up to that time been planned. A mass of sepoy correspondence has been inspected; the common talk of the mutineers in Delhi has been reported; the records of the palace have been ransacked; and yet no trace of any such detailed plan has been found. To show how little the course to be followed had been pre-arranged at the time of the Meerut outbreak, one or two significant circumstances may be cited. The well-known Moonshee Mohun Lal, who was at Delhi, stated that some men of the 3rd Light Cavalry told him that when the regiment broke out at Meerut they had scarcely left the cantonments when they held a council of war as to what should be done next. The general voice at first was for taking refuge in Rohilkhund. But one of the men pointed out that Delhi was the proper place to make for. There, he said, were the magazine and treasury; there the strong fortifications; there a large city population; there the King for a fitting instrument; and there, above all, an important point without European Troops. This account of what took place on that occasion was corroborated by minute and extensive enquiries made by Brigadier-General Chamberlain after the fall of Delhi. Again, it is ascertained from Mr. Ford, Magistrate of Goorgaon, that a large party of the 3rd Cavalry Troopers actually fled through Delhi onward to the Goorgaon District on the very next day after the outbreak, and that 10 men of this party and about 20 of the horses

were seized by the Magistrate. At the same time there is no doubt that the troops at Delhi were prepared for the occurrence of an outbreak at Meerut and were fully resolved to stand by their comrades.

Opinion of Sir John Lawrence that the success of the Meerut and Delhi mutineers prompted the Native Army to convert a combination against supposed oppression into a struggle for dominance.

16. It was when the Native Army at large saw the immense success of the Meerut and Delhi mutineers and the disasters of the British in the first instance that they resolved to convert what had been a combination against supposed oppression into a struggle for empire and for a general military domination. The sepoys had the command of all the public treasuries; no attempt was made to secure the treasure at out-stations. The temptation to plunder was too great for the virtue even of our best disposed regiments. Each corps acquired great wealth as it mutinied. As regiment after regiment fell away, the powers of resistance on the part of the Government lessened. In short, so manifold were the inducements, so certain the spread of infection, so powerful the effect of example, that no man acquainted with India could fail to see that such a mutiny and rebellion, unless trampled out at once, unless quenched in the blood of the soldiers who first revolted, must extend everywhere like wildfire.

Belief of Sir John Lawrence that there was no general conspiracy.

17. Next I am to state that Sir John Lawrence does not believe that there was any previous conspiracy, Mahomedan or other, extending first through the influential classes in the country and then to the Native Army. If there were such a thing, how comes it that no trace has been discovered in this part of India, the very quarter where any such conspiracy must have been hatched. How can it reasonably be explained why *none* of those who have adhered to our cause were acquainted with such a conspiracy? The number of those who were with us in Hindostan may have been small as compared with the number of those who were against us. But still the number of our adherents was considerable. Of these many remained true to us under all trials; others again died fighting on our side. Yet not one of these has ever been able to speak of any general conspiracy previous to the outbreak. Again, none of the mutineers and rebels who paid for their guilt the forfeit of their lives ever confessed in their last moments a knowledge of

any such conspiracy, though they knew that any revelations on this subject would save them from death. Again, many papers of various kinds have come to hand, revealing important secrets, implicating many persons, jeopardizing many lives; yet in all these there has been no allusion to such a conspiracy. In all his enquiries the Chief Commissioner has never heard a word from a native mouth nor seen anything in any native document that could convey even the impression that any general plot had existed.

Supposition of a general conspiracy negatived by the conduct of the people.

18. Furthermore, the Chief Commissioner considers that the conduct of the people generally negatives the supposition of a general conspiracy. If the people had conspired with the Army, why was not the first outbreak immediately followed by a general insurrection? If there was concert and premeditation, then why did not the population obey the first signal of revolt, such remarkable and encouraging signals as they were? Why did not all Hindostan rebel directly that Delhi had fallen to the mutineers; when the English there had been massacred, when the troops had raised the bad characters of the city and with their aid had seized the treasure, magazines and fortifications; when the King's sons, courtiers and retainers had joined, and when the King himself consented to head the movement? Why did not the population everywhere take advantage *immediately* of our weakness? Our power in a large portion of Hindostan was temporarily paralysed. Our means were small; and those means we had were so placed as not to be capable of being at once brought to bear against the insurgents. And the Meerut Force did nothing. The fact is that at first our enemies were not prepared to profit by such unforeseen and tremendous events. It was not till afterwards that the Mahomedans of Hindostan perceived that the re-establishment of the throne of Delhi, the gradual rising of the Mahomedan population, and the losses of the British at so many stations, presented an opportunity when they might again strike for empire with some prospect of success. The fact that *afterwards* in many districts the people threw off or ignored our authority, and that many individuals and some classes openly rose against us, will by no means prove a preconcerted conspiracy, but

Supposition of a general conspiracy negatived by the conduct of the people.

on the contrary will admit of much explanation. In no case did popular tumult precede the military outbreak; but invariably where it occurred at all it ensued upon a mutiny, like cause following effect. The population generally were passive at first. Then as it appeared that the British were being swept off the face of the land, every village began to follow its own course. In most districts there was of course more or less of misconduct. But through the whole time the people even in the worst districts never embarrassed us half as much as they would have done had they been rebels at heart. Large masses of people were coerced by the mutineers into insurrection, if insurrection it could be called. Where again the mutineers were beaten and expelled, the country rapidly settled down to peace and order. Wherever our officers were able to hold their own, the people remained wholly or partially tranquil. Where British rule ceased utter disorder necessarily followed. And certainly the common belief in Hindostan was that the British dominion had been extinguished. Furthermore, it is to be remembered that in India, as indeed in almost every other country, there exists a discontented class ready for any change in the hope of its improving their condition. Moreover, in India especially there are tribes by nature predatory, who before our rule subsisted on plunder and rapine. These were subdued more than half a century ago by our arms and our policy. But the characteristics of those people survive in their descendants. The existing generation cling to the predatory traditions of their forefathers. They long for a return of the days of misrule—the good old times when those might take who had the power and those might keep who could. Most of them had indeed never seen a shot fired; and living under the shadow of a strong Government had become unwarlike. But when our power became eclipsed and our prestige dimmed, the old instinct, the innate love of plunder revived, and the strong began to prey upon the weak. Then again a considerable section of the people, and especially the Mahomedans, are fanatical. This fanaticism loosed from the bonds of half a century became a powerful engine against us. Whatever may be the intrinsic merits of our rule, the people of India can never forget that we are an

alien race in respect of color, religion, habits and sympathies. While we on the other hand practically forgetting this, and wrapping ourselves up in our pride, self-reliance and feeling of superiority, neglect the most ordinary precautions for our own security, and throw off even the slightest restraints on our freedom of action, though our very safety may depend upon such precautions.

Views of Sir John Lawrence as to the causes of the mutiny in Oudh.

19. *The preceding observations convey, in the Chief Commissioner's judgment, a fair idea of the condition of the people after the outbreak in the Delhi territory, the Doab of the Ganges and the Jumna and Rohilkhund. In Oude, however, the* case was different. There the population had been long *inured* to danger and warfare; their martial pride had been fostered by constant success in resistance to their own rulers, and by the vast numbers employed in foreign military service under the British. They had always lived free from civil restraint, and they had never felt the weight of our military power. After the Province was annexed, we had not at all a strong military position. We were virtually attempting to hold the Province by troops drawn from itself; *we had but one European Regiment and some European Artillery; while we had upwards of 11,000 indigenous* troops, and while we had no European Troops ready at hand, in adjacent provinces. Yet, notwithstanding all this, we did, while acting with the best intentions, carry out some measures which had the effect of irritating various influential classes. As a counterpoise to such disaffection we might have produced contentment and loyalty among other classes. But our tenure of dominion had been too short to effect this when the outbreak burst upon us. When the influential classes whom our policy had provoked found that the Native Army were ripe for revolt, they added fuel to a rising fire; and when the crisis arrived, mutiny was immediately followed by insurrection. Had we been able at once to march European or other reliable troops into Oude in sufficient numbers, we might even then have beaten down opposition. But this we could not do, and many months passed away. During that interval our enemies consolidated their power, and

even those most friendly to our rule were from sheer necessity driven to swell the ranks of our opponents.

Data upon which conclusions of Sir John Lawrence are based.

20. It may be that the Supreme Government have received information from other parts of India, but the foregoing conclusions regarding the absence of any conspiracy and the general conduct of the people are based upon Sir John Lawrence's knowledge and experience of the countries from the Jumna to the borders of Afghanistan, a tract of full 100,000 square miles, with a population of thirty millions, and comprising the very centre and focus of rebellion, the place of all others where such a conspiracy, if it had existed at all, would have been most likely to be discovered.

Opinion of Sir John Lawrence that the overtures of the King of Delhi to the Shah of Persia were unconnected with the mutiny.

21. It will be seen that in the Deputy Judge Advocate-General's summing up at the trial, much stress is laid on the overtures made by the King to the Shah of Persia. But, as already remarked, nothing was elicited at the trial to show that these referred to a revolt either of the Bengal Army or the people of Hindostan. The physician, Ahsunoollah, declares that these communications were indeed treasonable; that the King was dissatisfied chiefly because he was not allowed to set aside his eldest son in the succession to the title; and that he had an idea of obtaining help from Persia, and from Oude, to which latter Court also he despatched an emissary. But the physician adds that, although the subversion of the British Government was mentioned in these despatches, yet a revolt of the sepoy army was never referred to as a means of accomplishing this. During the Persian War there is reason to know that intrigues were carried on between the Courts of Persia and Delhi. But it were hardly reasonable to suppose that if the Shah had really intended to give the King of Delhi any aid, or had even believed that a violent attempt would be made to subvert the British power in India, he would have made peace with us just at the critical time of our fortunes, thereby releasing for the succour of India the troops which would otherwise be locked up in Persia. Again, if the Shah had really been cognizant of such an attempt, would he not have sent his emissaries to Peshawur and into the Punjab? Had he done this, some signs of intrigue would have certainly been percep-

tible, but none whatever were discovered. In fact all that we have learnt regarding the intrigues of the King and his party show that he did *not* look to any conspiracy or combination in India itself; but rather to *foreign* aid from beyond the Frontier, from Persia or from Russia. Indeed, the notions developed are generally so absurd as to show that these intrigues were destitute of any reasonable plan and were conceived by persons in a great measure ignorant of the subject.

22. The Chief Commissioner's opinions and conclusions on this most important subject have now been stated without reserve. The terrible experience of Hindostan during 1857 must ever be applicable to all other Provinces of the Empire. It should command attention in the Punjab especially. The Chief Commissioner has every reason to speak well of the Punjabee Troops, and indeed it would be difficult to praise too highly their services during the present war. They have resisted sore temptations and undergone severe trials. Nevertheless there was a time when it seemed doubtful as to what course they would ultimately adopt. And the Chief Commissioner fully believes that, had we failed to take Delhi last autumn, even their fidelity would not have remained proof against the bad example around them. At that juncture the Chief Commissioner himself could not avoid apprehending the day when, besides the British soldiers, there would be no man on our side. That such a day did not arrive is due only, in the Chief Commissioner's eyes, to the infinite mercy of the Almighty. The misfortunes and calamities which we experienced in Afghanistan in 1842 were renewed and surpassed in Hindostan during 1857. The issue has been less disastrous, because in the last instance the country was less strong, the people less formidable, and our resources less distant; but above all because the Almighty Disposer of Events, though apparently determined to humble, had not resolved to destroy us. Many thoughtful and experienced men now in India believe that we have been extricated from destruction only by a series of miracles. It is no exaggeration to affirm that in many instances the mutineers acted as if a curse rested on their cause. Had a single leader of ability arisen amongst them; nay, had they followed *any*

Attitude of Punjab Troops.

Anxiety of Sir John Lawrence until the fall of Delhi.

other course but the infatuated course which they actually did pursue in many instances, we must have been lost beyond redemption. But such a destruction was not decreed. It was a struggle between Christianity and civilization on the one side and barbarism and heathenism on the other. That we escaped from destruction, and even obtained success, can be accounted for in no other way than by attributing it all to the operation of the Divine Will. And now having been preserved by Providence thus far victorious, it urgently behoves us to strive to gain a right understanding of the real circumstances which brought on this crisis. If we can but acquire this, then there is hope that we may profit by a knowledge of the past, and in future avoid those errors which have well nigh led to our ruin.

Success of the British ascribed to Divine interposition.

23. In conclusion, I am to submit the Chief Commissioner's recommendation in regard to the future disposal of the prisoner Muhummud Behadur Shah, ex-King of Delhi. The Chief Commissioner suggests then that the said prisoner be transported beyond the Seas as a felon and be kept in some island or settlement where he will be entirely isolated from all other Mahomedans. As regards the prisoner's wife Zeenut Mahal and his son Juwan Bukht, no charges having been exhibited against them, and the latter being only 17 years of age, but they both having been present at Delhi, the Chief Commissioner suggests that they be allowed the option of accompanying the prisoner to his place of transportation, and that in the event of their declining to do so, they be confined as State prisoners somewhere in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency.

Recommendations of Sir John Lawrence for the disposal of the ex-King and the other members of the Delhi Royal family.

24. While forwarding these proceedings, I am to state that the Chief Commissioner commends to the favorable consideration of the Supreme Government the able exertions of Major J. F. Harriott of the 3rd Light Cavalry, the Deputy Judge Advocate-General, in conducting this protracted trial. The Chief Commissioner also desires to bring to notice the valuable services of Mr. James Murphy, Collector of Customs, who acted as Interpreter to the Court. This gentleman, unaid-

Notice of services of Major J. F. Harriott and Mr. James Murphy, who acted as Prosecutor and Interpreter respectively at the trial of the ex-King of Delhi.

ed by any Moonshee, translated all the numerous and difficult documents adduced at the trial; he also read the originals before the Court, and conducted the examination of the native witnesses. The translations are believed to be exceedingly faithful. And the circumstance that he was able to dispense with native assistance in the work ensured secrecy and other advantages, and evinced his eminent attainments as an Oordoo and Persian scholar. The Chief Commissioner, I am to add, contemplates shortly proposing some reward on behalf of this meritorious officer.

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311. *From G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General, to Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, G. C. B., Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 3335, dated Allahabad, 22nd September 1858.*

Removal of the ex-King of Delhi to Calcutta.

I AM directed to transmit for your information the accompanying copy of a letter this day addressed to the Commissioner of Delhi regarding the removal of the ex-King of Delhi to Calcutta.

ENCLOSURE TO 311.

From G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General, to C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Commissioner of Delhi,—No. 3334, dated Allahabad, 22nd September 1858.

Instructions for the journey of the ex-King of Delhi.

I AM desired to annex copy of a telegram which has been despatched under this date to your address requiring you to send the ex-King to Allahabad under escort of a wing of Her Majesty's 9th Lancers and a troop of Horse Artillery, which will pass through Delhi on or about the 30th instant.

"A wing of the 9th Lancers and a troop of Horse Artillery are under orders to leave Umballa for Allahabad, and will reach Delhi on or about the 30th."

"The King is to be sent down under their escort. Lieutenant Ommanney will accompany, and so also will Zeenut Mahal and Jowan Bukht. A few domestic servants also may be allowed to come.

"Provide the necessary tents and conveyances at once. More by post."

2. You have been informed that Zeenut Mahal and her son Jowan Bukht are to accompany the ex-King, and that Lieutenant Ommanney must proceed to Allahabad and eventually to Calcutta in charge of the prisoner.

3. You will cause a sufficiency of tents to be provided for the accommodation of the ex-King and his companions, and you will procure the necessary conveyances. Whether carriages or palanquins will be the most suitable you will determine.

4. The few domestic servants who may have been hitherto in attendance on the ex-King may be permitted to accompany him, but they must be kept under surveillance during the journey and prevented from communicating with the people generally.

5. If the ex-King should make enquiries from you as to his destination, you will tell him that he will be conducted in the first instance to Calcutta, and that on arrival there he will be informed of it.

6. Lieutenant Ommanney should be strictly enjoined to show to the ex-King and his companions all the consideration which may be consistent with their absolute security. He will, of course, understand that no person whatever must be permitted to visit or communicate with the ex-King or his companions. You will furnish Lieutenant Ommanney with such further instructions as you may think necessary.

A copy of this letter will be sent to the Chief Commissioner in the Punjab.

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312. *From G. F. Edmonstone, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General, to Sir John Lawrence, Bart., G.C.B., Chief Commissioner, Punjab,—No. 3400, dated Allahabad, 27th September 1858.*

Removal of some members of the family of the ex-King of Delhi to Calcutta.

In continuation of my letter No. 3335,* dated the 22nd instant, I have the honor to forward for your information the accompanying copy of a further letter this day addressed to the Commissioner of Delhi regarding the removal of some other members of the family of the ex-King of Delhi.

*311 (page 408).

ENCLOSURE TO 312.

From G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General, to C. B. SAUNDERS, Esquire, Commissioner of Delhi,—No. 3399, dated Allahabad, 27th September 1858.

IN continuation of my letter to your address, No. 3334, dated the 22nd instant, I have the honor to inform you that the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General has been pleased to resolve that besides the persons mentioned therein the Begum Taj Mahal and Shah Abbas, another son of the ex-King, shall accompany him.

2. The wife of Jewan Bukht is likewise to be sent with her husband, but her mother and sister, who it is understood are at present imprisoned with Zeenut Mahal, may remain at Delhi, if they prefer doing so.

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